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3 convention, Baltimore, 1831

JOURNAL

OF THE

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION,

Which assembled in the City of Baltimore, Dec. 12, 1831,

FOR THE

NOMINATIONS OF CANDIDATES

TO FILL THE

OFFICES OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION.

WASHINGTON.

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AT A
MEETING OF THE CONVENTION OF DELEGATES
OF THE
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY
OF THE
UNITED STATES.

*Assembled at the Athenæum, in the City of Baltimore, on Monday, the
12th of December, 1831 :*



On motion of Mr. LIVINGSTON, of New York, it was

Resolved, That the Honorable ABNER LACOCK, of Pennsylvania, be appointed President of this meeting, pro tem.

On motion of Mr. BARBOUR, of Virginia,

Resolved, That THOMAS P. RAY, of Virginia, be appointed Secretary of this meeting, pro tem.

On motion of Mr. LIVINGTON, of New York,

Resolved, That the Delegations of the several States, represented at this Convention, be requested to examine the credentials (or other evidence of appointment,) of the members of their respective States, and report a list of their names, to-morrow, at twelve o'clock.

On motion of Mr. STONE, of New York,

Resolved, That the Editors of the several newspapers, published in this city, together with all others in attendance from abroad, with their reporters, be invited to take seats to be appropriated for their accommodation.

On motion of Mr. COMBS, of Kentucky,

Resolved, That the Convention meet to-morrow, at twelve o'clock, and that it do now adjourn.

A. LACOCK, President pro tem.

TUESDAY, 13th December, 1831.

THE Convention met according to adjournment, this day, at twelve o'clock, at the place to which they had adjourned.

Whereupon, pursuant to the resolution heretofore adopted, a list of the members of the several States was presented; when it appeared, that one hundred and fifty-six had produced proper evidence of their appointment as members of this Convention, who appeared and took their seats, to wit:

MAINE.

Nathan Cummings, of Portland
George Evans, Gardiner
John Holmes, Alfred

Charles Mussey, Portland
Henry Warren, Palmyra

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

Charles Barrett, of New Ipswich
Leonard Jarvis, Claremont
William A. Kent, Concord

John B. H. Odiorne, Dover
James Wilson, Jr. Keene

MASSACHUSETTS.

Gideon Barstow, Salem
Ira Barton, Oxford
Henry A. S. Dearborn, Roxbury
Alexander H. Everett, Boston
Russell Freeman, New Bedford

John Lowell, jr. Boston
Ebenezer Moseley, Newburyport
Gershom B. Weston, Duxbury
Samuel Snelling, Boston

RHODE ISLAND.

Joseph L. Tillinghast, Providence.
John B. Francis, Warwick

Nathan F. Dixon, Westerly
Chr. E. Robbins, Newport

CONNECTICUT.

Daniel B. Brinsmade, Washington
Dennis Kimberly, New Haven
John McClellan, Woodstock

John A. Rockwell, Norwich
Joseph Trumbull, Hartford

VERMONT.

Dan. Carpenter, Waterbury
Wm. A. Griswold, Burlington
Thomas D. Hammond, Orwell

William Jarvis, Weathersfield
Robert Temple, Rutland
Phineas White, Putney

NEW-YORK.

Luther Bradish, Maira, Franklin co.
Joseph Blunt, city of New York
John G. Camp, Buffalo
Henry B. Cowles, Carmel, Putnam co.
Hiram Ketcham, city of New York
Peter R. Livingston, Rhinebeck, Dutchess
co.
Chas. Ludlow, Newburgh, Orange co.
Abraham R. Lawrence, city N. York

Hugh Maxwell, city of New York
Fred'k Mason, Norway, Herkimer co.
Peter B. Porter, Black Rock
Wm. L. Stone, city of New York
Z. Barton Stout, Richmond Hill, Ontario co.
Richard R. Ward, city of New York
Henry G. Wheaton, Albany
William J. Bacon, Utica
Jeremiah M. Pierson, Ramapo

NEW-JERSEY.

Amzi Dodd, Newark
Samuel S. Doty, Baskingridge
Job S. Halsted, Newton, Sussex co.
William Halsted, Trenton

Benj. P. Lippincott, Swedesborough
Henry D. Polhemus, Freehold
Peter M. Ryerson, Pompton, Bergen co.
James F. Randolph, New Brunswick

PENNSYLVANIA.

Samuel Alexander, Carlisle
John B. Butler, Pittsburgh
Robert Burke, do.

Thomas Burnside, Belfont
Thomas B. Coleman, Lebanon
Joseph G. Clarkson, Philadelphia.

James Calhoun, Chambersburg
 Wm. H. Dillingham, West Chester
 William Darling, Reading
 Nathl. Ewing, Union Town
 Washington Hopkins, Lancaster
 Thomas M. Jolly, Norristown
 Abner Lacock, Beaver town
 Sharp D. Lewis, Wilkesbarre
 William Lyon, Bedford

Peter S. Michler, Easton
 Calvin Mason, York
 Thomas McGiffin, Washington
 W. A. V. Magaw, Meadville
 Josiah Randall, Philadelphia
 John Sergeant, do.
 Richard Penn Smith, do.
 Anthony Taylor, Bristol

DELAWARE.

E. I. Dupont, of Wilmington
 Kinsey Johns, jr. Newcastle
 Richard Mansfield, Middletown

William W. Morris, Dover
 William D. Waples, Millsborough

MARYLAND.

Solomon Dickinson, Easton
 Joseph Kent, Bladensburgh
 John B. Morris, Baltimore
 Joseph I. Merrick, Hagerstown
 William Price, do.

James Sewell, Elkton
 H. V. Somerville, Baltimore
 James Thomas, Chaptico
 John Tilghman, Centreville
 Wm. Willis, Westminster, Fredk. co.

VIRGINIA.

Richard Adams, Richmond
 Robert Anderson, Williamsburgh
 James Barbour, Williamsburgh
 Richd. W. Barton, Winchester
 David Briggs, Richmond
 James Breckenridge, Fincastle
 Robert B. Corbin, White Chimneys, Caro-
 line county
 Wm. B. Caldwell, White Sulphur Springs
 John B. Clopton, Richmond
 Saml. H. Davis, Winchester
 Henry Fairfax, Fairfax Court House
 Charles Hill, King and Queen C. House
 Joshua M. Harrell, Suffolk

John Marshall, jr. Oak Hill, Fauquier co.
 Philip C. Pendleton, Martinsburg
 Outhbert Powell, Upperville, Loudon co.
 Thomas P. Ray, Morgantown
 Robert Stanard, Richmond
 John Taliaferro, Fredericksburg
 Tho. Turner, The Plains, Fauquier co.
 Henry S. Turner, Charlestown, Jefferson
 county
 Edward T. Tayloe, King George Ct. House
 William Woods, Charlottesville
 P. I. Cohen, Norfolk
 A. B. Spooner, Petersburg, Dinwiddie
 James Carr, Deep Creek, Norf. co.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Richard H. Alexander, Salisbury, Rowan
 co. Frederick H. Shuman, Salem, Stokes co.
 John Hamilton, Concord, Cabarras co.

KENTUCKY.

Daniel Breck, Richmond
 Charles Buford, Georgetown
 Leslie Combs, Lexington
 James W. Denny, Frankfort
 Thompson M. Ewing, Elkton
 James Harlan, Danville
 James Hughes, Louisville

John Jennings, Lancaster
 Martin P. Marshall, Flemingsburgh
 Wm. T. Willis, Greensburg
 Geo. W. Williams, Paris
 Lee White, Louisville
 Francis Johnson, do.
 James T. Morehead, Bowling Green

TENNESSEE.

Boyd McNairy, Nashville

OHIO.

Philemon Beecher, Lancaster, Fairfield
 Henry Bacon, Dayton, Montgomery co.
 Jas. M. Bell, Cambridge, Guernsey co.
 Hez. Bissell, Wooster, Wayne co.
 Thomas Flanner, Zanesville, Muskingum
 co.
 Edw. Hamilton, Portsmouth, Sciota co.
 John H. James, Urbanna, Champaign
 Jos. H. Ijams, Rushville, Fairfield co.
 Rt. A. Thurston, Dayton, Montgomery co.

Leicester King, Warren, Trumbull co.
 George Renick, Chillicothe, Ross co.
 Allen Trimble, Hillsborough, Highland
 George Reeves, jr. Zanesville
 John Sloan, Wooster, Wayne co.
 James Williams, Norwalk, Huron co.
 Jeremiah Morrow, 20 mile stand P. O.
 Warren co.
 Ethan Stone, Cincinnati, Hamilton co.
 Samuel W. Davies, Cincinnati, Hamilton co.

LOUISIANA.

Henry A. Bullard, Alexandria, (M. C.) Josiah S. Johnston, do. do

INDIANA.

John J. Neely, Princeton Isaac Howk, Charleston

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Richard S. Coxe, city of Washington Wm. S. Nichols, Georgetown
Wm. L. Hodgson, Alexandria Edgar Snowden, Alexandria
Walter Jones, city of Washington

The following persons, also elected Delegates, were unable to attend.

MAINE.

Erastus Foote, Wiscasset Jeremiah O'Brien, Machias
Theodore F. Jewett, Berwick Samuel Bradley, Fryeburgh
John Dole, Alna

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Ichabod Bartlett, Portsmouth John Wilson, Lancaster
Joseph Sawyer, Piermont

MASSACHUSETTS.

Henry Shaw, Lanesborough John Locke, Ashby
Kirk Boot, Lowell Saml. M. McKay, Pittsfield
Barker Burnell, Nantucket

RHODE ISLAND.

George Irish, Middletown

CONNECTICUT.

Charles Hawley, Stanford Henry Wolcott, Middletown
Calvin Wilcox, Tolland

VERMONT.

Dudley Chace, Randolph James Bell, Walden

NEW YORK.

Ambrose Spencer, Albany Elisha Camp, Sackett's Harbour
John D. Dickinson, Troy John A. Collier, Binghampton, Broome co.
David Woodcock, Ithaca B. D. Noxon, Syracuse, Onondago co.
Henry V. R. Schermerhorn, Geneva John Maynard, Livingston co.
Wm. Nichols, Cooperstown, Otsego co. Timothy A. Porter, Ellicottville, Cataraugus
Elisha Jenkins, Hudson co.
F. B. Sherman, Utica David Canfield, Batavia, Genessee co.
B. Arnold, Amsterdam, Montgomery co. Wm. T. Lawrence, Ithaca.
John House, Waterford Daniel D. Barnard, Rochester.

DELAWARE.

Isaac Davis, Smyrna Henry F. Rodney, Lewistown
John Wallace, Milford Edward L. Wells, Georgetown

MARYLAND.

John N. Steel, Cambridge.

VIRGINIA.

Samuel Pannill, of Green hill, Campbell co. Henry Curtis, Richmond
Thomas Coleman, Williamsburg Chapman Johnson, do.
Geo. W. Southall, do. Henry Erskine, Greenbrier C. House
William F. Taliaferro, Kinsdale, Westmore- John F. May, Petersburg
land co. Robert Bowling, do.
Mathias Jones, Suffolk Stephen Wright, Norfolk borough
Joseph H. Robertson, do. Arthur Emmerson, Portsmouth, Norf. co.
Francis Mallory, do. William Wright, do.

Edward Delany, Norfolk Borough
Henry Woodis, do.

Wilson B. Scott, Portsmouth, Nott. co.

KENTUCKY.

John J. Marshall, Frankfort.

OHIO.

Lyne Starling, Columbus, Franklin co. Lincoln Goodale, do. do. do.

INDIANA.

George H. Dunn, Lawrenceburg.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Walter Smith, Georgetown.

ILLINOIS.

Smith Carmi, White co.

On motion of Mr. HOLMES, it was

Resolved, That a committee of five members be appointed, to report to this Convention a list of the officers proposed to be appointed for its more complete organization, and that they nominate the persons who shall be appointed thereto. Whereupon,

Messrs. Holmes of Maine; Sergeant of Pennsylvania; Thomas of Maryland; Denny of Kentucky and Dearborn of Massachusetts were appointed of that committee.

The committee having previously retired, Mr. HOLMES reported, that the committee having had the business of their appointment under consideration, recommended the appointment by the Convention, of one President, four Vice Presidents, and two Secretaries,—and that

The Hon. JAMES BARBOUR, of Virginia, be appointed President,—and that

The Hon. ALLEN TRIMBLE of Ohio; Hon. JOSEPH KENT of Maryland; Gen. PETER B. PORTER of New York, and Hon. ROBERT TEMPLE of Vermont, be appointed Vice Presidents,—and that

The Hon. JOSEPH L. TILLINGHAST of Rhode Island, and HENRY BACON, Esquire, of Ohio, be appointed Secretaries of this Convention.—Whereupon,

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the report of the committee aforesaid be agreed to, and that the gentlemen therein named, be appointed to fill the offices, as they are in said report particularly designated.

On motion of Mr. SERGEANT, it was

Resolved, That the President be requested to invite the Hon. CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, and his Excellency Gov. HOWARD, to take seats within the bar.

On motion of Mr. STONE, it was

Resolved, That the Hon. JONATHAN ROBERTS be also invited to take a seat within the bar.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Hon. SAMUEL SPRIGG be also invited to take a seat within the bar.

On motion of Mr. HOLMES, it was

Resolved, That the Convention do now proceed to nominate a candidate for the office of President of the United States, to be supported by those who are opposed to the re-election of Andrew Jackson.

On motion of Mr. DEARBORN, it was

Resolved, That when the vote, in pursuance of the last mentioned resolution shall be taken, the order shall be, that the individuals composing the Convention, shall be called by states in their geographical order, and that when the names are called, each indi-

individual shall rise in his place as called, and declare the name of the person for whom he gives his vote, as the candidate for the office of President of the United States, to be supported by those who are opposed to the election of Andrew Jackson.

The name of HENRY CLAY having been repeatedly mentioned as a most fit and proper person to be nominated as the candidate for the office of President of the United States, the President, after making such prefatory remarks as he supposed proper, and among others, that he held a letter from Mr. CLAY, and that he was authorized in his opinion under existing circumstances, to lay the same before the Convention, which he proceeded to do.—

The same was thereupon read, as follows to wit:

(COPY.)

(Letter from Mr. Clay, submitted by the President.)

WASHINGTON, 10th December, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR—I was extremely glad to learn, that you had accepted the appointment of a member of the Baltimore Convention, which is to assemble next week, to nominate, for the consideration of the people of the United States, candidates for their President and Vice President; and that, notwithstanding the extraordinary inclemency of the weather, you had proceeded to the city, where that important trust is to be performed. It is to be sincerely hoped, that the acknowledged patriotism and intelligence of the Convention, aided by the purity of intention and practical good sense, by which I have so often witnessed you to be guided, in public affairs, may conduct your deliberations to results satisfactory to the community.

I must have been entirely regardless of passing events, if I had not observed that my name has been repeatedly mentioned as being likely to be brought before the Convention, and that, in some instances, delegates have been instructed, by their constituents, to yield support to it, as a candidate for the Presidency. This restriction, or any restriction, upon the perfect freedom of deliberation and decision of the Convention, is inexpedient. It would have had a more happy constitution, if it had embodied the will of all who are desirous of rescuing the executive government of the Union, from the misrule which threatens to subvert established institutions and systems of policy, long and deservedly cherished, and to bring disgrace and ruin upon the country. So constituted, the Convention could have made a comparative estimate of the many citizens of the United States, who are competent to discharge the duties of Chief Magistrate, and select from among them, that one who, possessing the requisite principles, would probably meet, to the greatest extent, the public confidence and the public support. For one, I anxiously wish that the Convention, dismissing every feeling of previous attachment or predilection, will now make, impartially, such an estimate and selection. And should their choice fall upon any individual other than me, it shall have not only my hearty acquiescence and concurrence, but my cordial and zealous co-operation.

I have been very desirous to lay these sentiments before the Convention, but it has appeared to me that I could not formally do it, without incurring the imputation of presumptuousness or indelicacy. Will you then, my dear sir, with whom I have so often had the happiness to be associated in the public councils, consent to be the organ of making them known, if necessary, to the Convention? Should my name not be presented to its consideration for the Presidency, it will not be proper or necessary to make the communication; but if it should be, I confide the manner of doing it, to your judgment and sense of propriety.

With fervent wishes for the prevalence of good feelings and harmony in the Convention, I am cordially and constantly your friend.

H. CLAY.

JAMES BARBOUR, Esq.

Whereupon the Convention then proceeded to nominate a suitable person as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, and the Secretary proceeded to call the names of the members present, according to the order aforesaid; when, upon being called, each member in succession,

as called, rose in his place, and declared his vote to be for HENRY CLAY of Kentucky, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States; when it appeared that one hundred and fifty-five votes had been so given, Mr. Peirson of New York not being present when the vote aforesaid was taken: and HENRY CLAY of Kentucky was therefore unanimously nominated by the Convention, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States.

Whereupon it was declared by the President that HENRY CLAY of Kentucky was unanimously chosen by the members of this convention, as the candidate for the office of President of the United States, to be supported by those who are opposed to the re-election of Andrew Jackson.

On motion of Mr. DEARBORN, it was

Resolved, That a committee of seven be chosen to prepare an address to the citizens of the United States, to carry into effect the objects of this Convention; and

Resolved further, That the President do appoint the same. Whereupon, Messrs. Everett of Massachusetts; Stanard of Virginia; Dodd of N. Jersey; Hank of Indiana; Johns of Delaware; Cummings of Maine; and Willson of N. Hampshire were appointed of said committee.

On motion of Mr. DEARBORN, it was

Resolved, That a committee be appointed, consisting of one member from the delegation of each state, and one from the district of Columbia, whose duty it shall be to inform Mr. CLAY of his nomination as aforesaid, and request his acceptance of the same.

And it was further

Resolved, That the delegation of the several states, and of the District of Columbia, do each, severally, make the appointment of the individual of their number, who shall compose said committee.

Whereupon, after proper deliberation, the delegations of the several states and of the District of Columbia, severally made report, that they had appointed the following persons to be said committee, to wit:

Maine—Henry Warren; *New Hampshire*—Leonard Jarvis; *Vermont*—Wm. Jarvis; *Rhode Island*—Chr. T. Robbins; *Massachusetts*—H. E. S. Dearborn; *Connecticut*—John A. Rockwell; *New York*—P. R. Livingston; *New Jersey*—Job S. Halsted; *Pennsylvania*—Thomas Burnside; *Maryland*—William Price; *Virginia*—James Breckinridge; *Ohio*—John Sloane; *Kentucky*—Daniel Breck; *Delaware*—E. I. Dupont; *North Carolina*—Frederick H. Shuman; *Indiana*—John J. Neely; *Louisiana*—Henry A. Bullard; *District of Columbia*—Richard S. Coxe.

Which report was by the Convention accepted and approved.

On motion of Mr. SERGEANT,

Resolved, That the President be requested to invite the attendance of a Clergyman, upon the sitting of this convention, and that its meetings be opened with prayer.

On motion,

Resolved, That this meeting now adjourn, to meet again at this place to-morrow, at 12 o'clock.

JAMES BARBOUR, President.

Attest,—JOSEPH L. TILLINGHAST, }
H. BACON, } Secretaries.

DECEMBER 14, 1831.

THE Convention met pursuant to adjournment, and was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Dr. WYOTT, of Baltimore.

The proceedings of the session of yesterday were read.

On motion of Mr. HOLMES, of Maine, it was

Resolved, That the members who arrived and took their seats since the vote upon the nomination for the Presidency was declared, be permitted to vote in the same manner as the members who voted upon that question.

Whereupon, the following delegates newly arrived, viz. Mr. Bacon and M. Pierson, of New York, Mr. Spooner and Mr. Carr, of Virginia, Mr. Hamilton, of North Carolina, Mr. McNairy, of Tennessee, Mr. Morrow, Mr. Stone, Mr. Thruston and Mr. Davies, of Ohio, being called in the order of their states, each rose successively in his place, as called, and announced the name of HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, as the candidate whom he chose to nominate.

The following letter from the venerable CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton, to the committee appointed to invite him to a seat within the bar of the Convention, was presented by the committee, read and entered on the journal, viz:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, December 14, 1831.

Gentlemen,—The severity of the weather and the apprehensions of my family on that account, admonish me to be cautious in venturing abroad at this season; I must, therefore, claim the privilege of my advanced age, and apologise for not accompanying you this morning, to the Athenæum, agreeably to my promise of yesterday.

I request, gentlemen, that you will have the goodness to convey my apology to the distinguished individuals by whom you were deputed, to propose to me so flattering a compliment, and to accept on their behalf, and for yourselves, an assurance of the regard and respect with which I am,

Gentlemen, respectfully yours,

CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton.

On motion of Mr. BARSTOW, of Massachusetts, it was

Resolved, That the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, Senator in Congress, from Massachusetts, now in this city, be invited to a seat within the bar of this Convention.

And on motion of Governor KENT, it was

Resolved, That the Hon. E. F. CHAMBERS, Senator in Congress, from Maryland, now in this city, be invited to a seat within the bar.

And on suggestion of the CHAIR, it was further

Resolved, That all members of Congress now in this city, be invited to seats within the bar.

Mr. DEARBORN, from the committee appointed to communicate to Mr. CLAY, his nomination as a candidate for the Presidency, made a report, accompanied by the copy of a letter of the committee to Mr. Clay, and the reply of Mr. Clay, accepting the nomination, which were read and entered on the journal, as follows:

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The sub-committee appointed to proceed to the city of Washington, as bearers of a letter to the Hon. Henry Clay, announcing to that illustrious citizen, that he had been

unanimously nominated as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, by the Convention of National Republican Delegates, assembled in Baltimore, respectfully report, that they have performed that duty, and have the honor of presenting copy of the communication made to Mr. Clay, and his answer thereto.

HENRY DEARBORN,
CHARLES E. ROBBINS,
WM. PRICE,
THOS. BURNSIDE,
E. I. DUPONT.

(COPY.)

BALTIMORE, December 13, 1831.

HON. HENRY CLAY,

Sir:—The undersigned have been appointed a Committee by the Convention of National Republican Delegates, now assembled in this city, to announce that you were this day unanimously nominated as a Candidate for the office of President of the United States.

Entertaining the most exalted opinion of your eminent talents, enlarged patriotism and distinguished public services, we have the fullest confidence that you will receive the united, cordial, and zealous support of every friend to the Constitution, the integrity of the Union, all the great branches of National Industry, and the prosperity of the general weal; and we pledge to you, in behalf of the Convention, the assurance of an ardent determination to use all honorable means to insure your elevation to the Chair of Chief Magistrate of this Republic.

With the highest consideration, we have the honor to be,

Sir, your most obt. ser'ts.

PETER R. LIVINGSTON, of New York.
HENRY WARNER, Maine.
LEONARD JARVIS, New Hampshire.
WILLIAM JARVIS, Vermont.
HENRY A. S. DEARBORN, Massachusetts.
CHRIST. E. ROBBINS, Rhode Island.
JOHN A. ROCKWELL, Connecticut.
JOB S. HALSTED, New Jersey.
THOS. BURNSIDE, Pennsylvania.
E. J. DUPONT, Delaware.
WILLIAM PRICE, Maryland.
JAMES BRECKENRIDGE, Virginia.
J. SLOANE, Ohio.
DANIEL BRECK, Kentucky.
FREDERICK H. SHUMAN, N. Carolina.
JOHN J. NEELY, Indiana.
H. A. BULLARD, Louisiana.
RICHARD S. COXE, District of Columbia.

Committee.

WASHINGTON, 13th December, 1831.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note which, as a committee of the Convention of National Republican Delegates, now assembled in Baltimore, you addressed to me, stating that I had been this day unanimously nominated by the Convention, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States.

This manifestation of the confidence of a body, so distinguished, is received, gentlemen, with lively sensibility and profound gratitude; although I should have been glad, if the Convention had designated some citizen of the United States, more competent than myself to be the instrument of accomplishing the patriotic objects which they have in view, I do not feel at liberty to decline their nomination. With my respectful and cordial acknowledgements, you will be pleased to communicate to the Convention, my acceptance of their nomination, with the assurance that whatever may be the event of it, our common country shall ever find me faithful to the union and the constitution, and

to the principles of public liberty, and to those great measures of national policy which have made us a people, prosperous, respected and powerful.

Accept gentlemen, of my thanks, for the friendly manner in which you have conveyed the act and sentiments of the Convention.

I am with high respect, your obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

Messrs. Peter R. Livingston, Henry Warren, Leonard Jarvis, Wm. Jarvis, D. A. S. Dearborn, C. E. Robbins, John A. Rockwell, Job S. Halsted, Thos. Burnside, E. T. Dupont, Wm. Price, James Breckenridge, J. Sloane, Daniel Breck, F. H. Shuman, John J. Neely, H. A. Bullard and Richard S. Coxe, &c. &c.

On motion of Mr. BRADISH, of New York, it was then

Resolved, That the Convention do now proceed to nominate a candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States.

JOHN SERGEANT, of Pennsylvania, was nominated by Mr. McNAIRY, of Tennessee, and the nomination was seconded by Mr. JONES, of the District of Columbia.

On motion of Mr. WM. HALSTED, of New Jersey, seconded by Mr. MARSHALL, of Virginia, it was then

Resolved, That the Convention proceed in the nomination for the Vice Presidency, as they had proceeded in the nomination for the Presidency; that is to say, that the Delegates be called by States, and that each Delegate, as called, rise in his place, and pronounce the name of the person whom he may choose to nominate.

The Delegates were then, by the secretary, severally called in the order of their respective States, and each delegate, as successively called, rose in his place and announced the name of JOHN SERGEANT, of Pennsylvania, as the candidate whom he nominated. Every member present in the Convention, having thus voted, the whole number of votes was found to be one hundred and sixty; and JOHN SERGEANT, of Pennsylvania, was therefore, unanimously nominated by this Convention, as the National Republican Candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States.

On motion of Mr. MARSHALL, of Virginia, it was

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to wait on Mr. SERGEANT, and inform him of this nomination, and that the CHAIR appoint the committee.

Whereupon, the CHAIR appointed Mr. Lacock, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Stanard, of Virginia, Mr. Jones, of the District of Columbia, Mr. Stone, of New York, and Mr. Morrow, of Ohio.

Resolved, That a committee of five, viz. Messrs. Burke, of Pa., Semerville, of Md., Taliaferro, of Va., James, of Ohio, and Combs, of Ky., be appointed to ascertain the expenses attending the sitting and acts of this Convention, and report a plan providing for the payment thereof.

Mr. JNO. B. MORRIS, of Baltimore, then informed the Convention, that the expenses of the sitting were already provided for, and that if the Convention was satisfied with the accommodations provided for it, those who had provided them, were most amply compensated by that satisfaction.

Whereupon, on motion of Mr. DEARBORN, of Mass. it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered by its President, to the gentlemen of Baltimore, for the hospitable provision of convenient and agreeable accommodations, by them so liberally and kindly furnished.

The following resolution, moved by Mr. LIVINGSTON, of New York, was then unanimously passed, viz:

Resolved, That a committee of one member from each State and one from the Dis-

trict of Columbia, be appointed to wait upon the Hon. CHARLES CARROLL, the surviving patriot who signed the Declaration of our Independence, to know at what time and place it would be agreeable to him to receive the members of the National Republican Convention, who wish to tender to him, their best feelings and high sense of gratitude for his patriotic services.

And it is further

Resolved, That Mr. Mussy, of Maine, Mr. Kent, of New Hampshire, Mr. Everett, of Massachusetts, Mr. Dixon, of Rhode Island, Mr. Trumbull, of Connecticut, Mr. Griswold, of Vermont, Mr. Lawrence, of New York, Mr. Wm. Halsted, of New Jersey, Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Morris, of Delaware, Mr. Somerville, of Maryland, Mr. Stanard, of Virginia, Mr. Alexander, of North Carolina, Mr. White, of Kentucky, Mr. McNairy, of Tennessee, Mr. Morrow, of Ohio, Mr. Bullard, of Louisiana, Mr. Neely, of Indiana, and Mr. Jones, of the District of Columbia, be that committee.

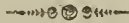
On motion of Mr. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania, it was

Resolved, That when the Convention adjourns, it adjourn to to-morrow, at 10 o'clock.

And the Convention then adjourned accordingly.

JAMES BARBOUR, President.

JOSEPH L. TILLINGHAST, }
HENRY BACON, } Secretaries.



DECEMBER 15, 1831.

The Convention met at 10 o'clock, pursuant to adjournment, and was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Nevins, of Baltimore.

On motion of Mr. FAIRFAX, of Virginia, it was

Resolved, That a central state corresponding committee be provisionally appointed in each state where none are now appointed, and that it be recommended to the several states, to organise subordinate corresponding committees in each county and town in their respective states.

On motion of Mr. BLUNT, of New York, it was

Resolved, That this Convention approve of the suggestion of a general Convention, on the part of the young men of the National Republican party, and that it be recommended that that Convention be holden in the city of Washington, on the first Monday of May next.

Gov. MORROW of Ohio, from the committee appointed to communicate to Mr. CARROLL the resolution of the Convention, reported as follows, viz :

The committee appointed to present to the Hon. CHARLES CARROLL, the surviving patriot who signed the Declaration of Independence, the resolution of this Convention, and to ascertain when it would be convenient for him to receive a visit from its members, have performed that duty, and report that Mr. CARROLL will be pleased to receive the members of this Convention, on the proposed visit at his house, this afternoon at four o'clock.

Which report being received, it was

Resolved, Upon motion of Mr. DEARBORN of Massachusetts, that the delegates in this Convention assemble in this place, at a quater before four o'clock, and proceed in a body to the residence of the venerable CHARLES CARROLL, for the purpose of paying their respects to him, at the time and place announced to be agreeable to him for receiving their visit.

Mr. LACOCK, from the committee appointed to inform Mr. SERGEANT of his nomination as a candidate for the Vice Presidency, reported that the committee had performed their duty, and presented as part of the report, a

copy of the letter of the committee to Mr. SERGEANT, and the reply of Mr. SERGEANT accepting the nomination—which report was received, and the copy of said letter and the reply were read, and ordered to be entered on the journal, and are as follows, viz :—

HON. JOHN SERGEANT:

SIR,—The undersigned, a committee appointed by the National Republican Convention for the purpose, inform you, that you have this day been unanimously nominated by the said convention, as a candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States. It gives them much pleasure to make this communication—having the strongest assurances from a view of your political character and conduct heretofore, that, if elected, you will be found an able and efficient auxiliary to the enlightened statesman recently nominated for the office of President; and that you will cheerfully co-operate with him, in maintaining the supremacy of the laws and constitution of the United States, and defending the primary and important interests of the people. Under these impressions, the committee are extremely solicitous that you should accept the nomination thus unanimously and spontaneously tendered you by the Convention; in which event, the committee are warranted in pledging you the hearty and zealous support, not only of their colleagues and themselves, but of the great constitutional party of the United States, by whom they have been delegated to this Convention.

Accept Sir, the assurance of our respectful consideration.

A. LACOCK,
ROBERT STANARD,
WALTER JONES,
WILLIAM L. STONE,
JEREMIAH MORROW.

(COPY.)

BALTIMORE, Dec. 14, 1831.

GENTLEMEN:—I have received your note of this date, informing me that the National Republican Convention, now sitting in this city, have unanimously nominated me as a candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States.

The nomination, by a body so enlightened and patriotic, for one of the highest trusts of the Republic, is felt to be a very great honor, and is appreciated accordingly. It is the more gratifying, as it associates me, in their estimation and support, with that distinguished citizen, whose whole public life and character, marked by undeviating devotion to the best interests of our country, and a spirit as generous as it is elevated, are a sure pledge that an administration under his guidance, would be comprehensive and national, aiming unceasingly to preserve the Union; to maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and laws; to keep unbroken the public faith and honor, and to regard with becoming indulgence and respect the honest differences of opinion, among our fellow citizens, which our republican institutions permit and invite. To co-operate with him to the extent of whatever means I possess in thus promoting the welfare and happiness of the nation, and rescuing the freedom of opinion and conduct from unconstitutional oppression, would be no less my pleasure than my duty.

Be pleased, gentlemen, to make known to the Convention my acceptance of their nomination; and, with it, to express to them the unaffected sensibility with which I have received this distinguished proof of their confidence.

I beg you to accept my thanks for the kind and flattering terms of your communication, and to be assured of the respect of,

Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

JOHN SERGEANT.

To Messrs. ARNER LACOCK, JEREMIAH MORROW, WILLIAM L. STONE, ROBERT STANARD, and WALTER JONES, Committee, &c.

The following resolution was passed on motion of Mr. W. HALSTED of New Jersey, viz :—

Resolved, That the thanks of the National Republican Convention, be tendered to Luke Tiernan, H. Niles, N. F. Williams, Wm. H. Freeman, Charles F. Mayer, Joshua Medtart, and James Harwood, members of the National Republican committee, and to

John B. Morris, Henry V. Somerville, N. F. Williams, and James Harwood, the committee of arrangements on the part of numerous citizens of Baltimore, for the extensive accommodations they have provided for its sittings, and the attentions and courtesies they have extended to its members, and the facilities they have offered to the objects of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. LIVINGSTON of New York, the Convention then had a recess till one o'clock.

At one o'clock the Convention re-assembled and proceeded to business.

On motion of Mr. KETCHAM of New York, it was

Resolved, That when this Convention adjourn, it adjourn to meet again to-morrow, at twelve o'clock.

Mr. FRANCIS JOHNSON and JAMES T. MOREHEAD, appeared and took their seats, and on motion of Mr. COMBS of Kentucky, were permitted, at their request, to vote on the nomination of President and Vice President. Whereupon, being called in the manner before pursued, they severally rose as called, and gave their votes for HENRY CLAY as a candidate for the Presidency, and JOHN SERGEANT for the Vice Presidency.

A letter from Mr. SAMUEL PANNILL of Virginia, regretting that he could not attend, and expressing his wish that HENRY CLAY may be nominated for the Presidency, was read.

The Convention then adjourned to to-morrow, at twelve o'clock.

JAMES BARBOUR, President.

JOSEPH L. TILLINGHAST, }
HENRY BACON, } Secretaries.

At four o'clock, the delegates having assembled in their hall, pursuant to the resolution passed this morning, proceeded in a body to the residence of the venerable CHARLES CARROLL, the sole survivor of those benefactors of the human race, who affixed their names to the Declaration of American Independence; where an interesting interview took place between the delegates and that venerable patriot, who received them with great hospitality and apparent gratification at this proof of their respect. After the introduction of each delegate to Mr. CARROLL, by Mr. Morris of Baltimore, and a suitable interval for conversation and refreshment, the President, preparatory to taking leave, approached Mr. CARROLL, and addressed him as follows:

“Mr. CARROLL,—The members of the National Republican Convention, the representatives of millions, have made me their organ to tender to you their homage—to assure you your name is held in profound veneration throughout the United States—that every infant through this vast republic, is taught to hush your name as a benefactor, and the only survivor of that band of illustrious patriots, who proclaimed our independence—and that our prayers are addressed to Heaven, that you may long be spared to your country.

After which, the delegates respectfully took leave and retired.



DECEMBER 16, 1831.

The Convention met at 12 o'clock, pursuant to adjournment, and the sitting was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Phinney, of Baltimore.

Mr. EVERETT, of Massachusetts, from the committee appointed to prepare an Address, reported that the committee had attended to that duty,

and presented as part of their report the address by them prepared, which was then read.

After the reading of which, it was unanimously

Resolved, Upon motion of Mr. KERCHUR, of New York, that the address so reported and read, be adopted and published, as the Address of this Convention to the American People.

On motion of Mr. ROCKWELL, of Connecticut, it was

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Delegations from the several States to prepare addresses to their constituents, urging upon them the adoption of such measures as may lead to the extension of the principles of the National Republican Party, and to the election of the candidates nominated by this Convention.

On motion of Mr. COXE, of the District of Columbia, it was

Resolved, That 10,000 copies of the proceedings of this Convention, and of the Address which has been this day reported and adopted, be printed and distributed under the direction of the following gentlemen as a committee for that purpose, viz: Mr. Everett, of Massachusetts, Mr. Blunt, of New York, and Mr. Cox, of the District of Columbia.

On motion of Mr. MORROW, of Ohio, the following resolution passed unanimously, the question thereon being put by Mr. TILLINGHAST, as Secretary, viz:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention be tendered to the Honorable JAMES BARBOUR, President, Gen. PORTER, Gov. KENT, Gov. TRIMBLE, and the Honorable ROBERT TEMPLE, Vice Presidents, for the able and dignified manner in which they have presided over its deliberations.

On motion of Mr. DEARBORN, of Massachusetts, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention be presented to the Honorable JOSEPH L. TILLINGHAST, and HENRY BACON, Esquire, for the attention and faithful manner in which they have discharged their duties as Secretaries.

On motion of Mr. DEARBORN, of Massachusetts, it was

Resolved, That the names and places of residence or address of the Delegates to this Convention, be printed with the proceedings, at the end thereof.

On motion of Mr. BRADISH, of New York, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Honorable ARNER LACOCK, for the very dignified and courteous manner in which he has presided over its preliminary deliberations.

On motion of Mr. STOUT, of New York, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention be presented to the Reverend Clergymen of Baltimore, who have kindly officiated at the openings of our sittings.

After the foregoing votes of thanks were passed, the President rose, and after acknowledging the kindness of the Convention to him, proceeded in an able, eloquent and deeply impressive address, to set forth several prominent grounds for supporting Mr. CLAY and Mr. SERGEANT, and some of the reasons for anticipating success and triumph for the National Republican Party, in the approaching contest for the prosperity and honor of the Republic.

After which, upon motion of Mr. DENNY, of Kentucky, it was

Resolved, That the President be requested to furnish a copy of the Address, just delivered by him, and that the same be published with the proceedings of the Convention.

The Convention then adjourned without day.

JOSEPH L. TILLINGHAST, }
HENRY BACON, } Secretaries.

ADDRESS
OF THE
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION
TO THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

THE period will soon arrive when you will be called upon to exercise a right, which, of all the independent nations of considerable power on the globe, you alone possess—that of electing, by your own free choice, and from among yourselves, the person who is to be entrusted with the high functions of your Chief Executive Magistrate. It is sometimes said that it is of little importance what individual is clothed with that character: that a President of the United States has no great personal influence either for good or evil, and that, in the present prosperous condition of the country the public affairs would be transacted just about as well under one President as another. Such opinions can only be entertained by persons who have not reflected on the theory or the practical operation of our Government. The whole course of the public affairs depends, in a very considerable degree, upon the direction which is given to the influence belonging to the office of President. It is no doubt true that the political machine may continue to move on a while with apparent success under very unskilful direction by the effect of a favorable impulse received at other times; but it is obvious, that if such a state of things continue long, the favorable impulse will be lost, and the principle of prosperity destroyed, perhaps forever. It is generally acknowledged that the pure and lofty character of Washington contributed more than any other cause to carry our institutions into successful operation, and that the eminent virtues and acknowledged talents of his successors in the Presidency, have aided very powerfully in sustaining and perfecting the work which he began. It is equally apparent, that if the Chief Magistracy should ever be committed for any great length of time to persons of an opposite character, the condition of the country must undergo, in one way or another, a disastrous, perhaps a fatal revolution.

Such being the importance of the right which you will soon be called upon to exercise, you owe it to yourselves, to your children, to your country, to the cause of humanity, which is so deeply involved in the issue of the political experiment that is now making among us, to exercise it with full and mature deliberation—without any bias from party feeling or mere personal advantage, and with a single view to the public good. You owe this,

not only to the interest, but to the honor of the nation. It is important to the preservation of the fair fame which we have already acquired throughout the world, that the seat of Washington, and his successors, should be worthily filled: that persons should be chosen to succeed these illustrious men, who shall be able, like them, to do honor, by their manner of discharging its duties, even to the high office of President of the United States: that the personal conduct of the head of the Executive department should be marked, as it always was in former days, with dignity, judgment, good temper, discretion, and moderation; that the youth of our Government should not be sullied by the foul stains of immorality that disfigure the antiquated and corrupt institutions of other countries, and that our citizens and the world at large should be able to look up to the high places of this Union for examples of public and private virtues.

Under these impressions of the importance of the crisis, a numerous portion of our fellow citizens residing in all parts of the country, and who have acted together in political affairs for some years past, under the name of NATIONAL REPUBLICANS, have directed us to meet together and deliberate upon the course which they ought to pursue, and the persons whom they ought to support for the great offices of the Government at the approaching election. In preparing to exercise this delicate trust, we have been naturally led to take a careful and deliberate survey of the political condition of the country, and of the manner in which the public affairs have been conducted by the present Administration. This survey has resulted in a full conviction that the public good imperiously requires a change; and in proposing to you as candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency the distinguished citizens whose names accompany this address, we have deemed it our duty to lay before you a concise statement of the principal circumstances which have led us to this conclusion.

No President ever entered on the duties of his office under circumstances more favorable to a successful discharge of them than the present incumbent. The country, thanks to Providence and to the ability and good fortune with which the public affairs had been carried on by preceding Administrations, was in a high state of prosperity. All the public establishments, and all the great branches of private industry, were in the most flourishing condition. Agriculture was rapidly extending itself in all directions, and particularly through the wide and fertile regions of the West—manufactures were advancing with unprecedented rapidity—commerce, internal and foreign, was animated with a corresponding vigor—our relations with foreign powers were of the most amicable character—at home, tranquillity and general contentment pervaded every corner of the Union—the parties that formerly divided the citizens and distracted the country, had in a great measure become extinct, under the operation of time, the growing prosperity of the nation, and the judicious and liberal conduct of the Government. In the pride and pleasure which we all felt in claiming the character of citizens of the United States, we were ready to forget that our fathers had been classed as Republicans and Federalists. The name of AMERICAN had, by a sort of common consent, taken the place of all other political distinctions. AMERICAN PRINCIPLES had become the common creed of the high-minded and patriotic adherents of all the former parties. In a word, the best friends of the country had little more to wish, or hope, in regard to our political situation than that we might proceed in the course which we were then pursuing, and remain, in every thing belonging to character and principles of Government, substantially as we were.

This state of things afforded, of course, the best evidence, that could possibly be had in favor of the administration under which it had grown up. Much of it could be traced directly to the character and opinions of the leading members of that administration. It was, however, under these circumstances, that a vigorous, and, as has been shown by the issue, successful effort was made to effect a change, and to place in the Chair of the Chief Magistracy the present incumbent. Of the comparative qualifications of the President, and his predecessor, for the high station which they have successively filled, we will not here speak. We cheerfully resign a task so ungrateful in one of its divisions, to the impartial and unshrinking hand of History. Nor will we here enlarge on the means by which the change in question was accomplished—the reckless and persevering calumny, which was constantly poured forth from hundreds of presses, on the best and purest men in the nation,—the false pretensions to exclusive republicanism—the factious clamor which was kept up in Congress—the artful combination of conflicting personal and party interests for a common object, and the various other unworthy arts, that were brought into action on this occasion. Suffice it to remark, that the change was effected—in form, at least—in a legal and constitutional way; and, however justly offensive the circumstances that brought it about, might and must have been to the friends of the last administration, however deficient the present incumbent might have been supposed to be in the qualities most requisite for the station to which he had been raised, it is believed that when he entered on his office, there was no disposition in any portion of the people to commence a premature or factious opposition to his measures. It was alarming enough to prudent and well meaning men that the Government of the country had fallen into such hands, and far from attempting to perplex or embarrass the administration, they would rather have lent all the aid in their power to carry the country safely through so dangerous a crisis. On the other hand, the military successes of the President had gained him an extensive personal popularity, which would have enabled him, had he known how to turn it to account, to carry on the Government with extraordinary facility. Under this combination of circumstances, it is believed, that had the public affairs been managed with tolerable prudence and discretion, General Jackson might have gone through his term of official life without a show of opposition, and have been re-elected, had he been so inconsistent as to desire it, by a nearly unanimous vote.

Nor were the friends of the country without strong hopes that such a result would follow. Deficient as the President was known to be in the qualities and accomplishments most essential to a civil magistrate, it was yet anticipated that he might be found to possess the courtesy, the generous feelings, the high sense of decorum and propriety which form the appropriate ornaments of the military character, and would have secured him from any open offence against the dignity of his office. After the letter to the venerable patriot Monroe, in which he had so emphatically recommended the oblivion of the old party distinctions, it was confidently expected that nothing would be done by himself that should revive them. He had given, on several public occasions, opinions on points of administration which—however at the time incorrectly applied—would have served excellently well as guide for his own conduct in office; and it was perhaps not unreasonable to hope that his actions would correspond, in some imperfect degree at least, with his previous professions. Had this been the case, his administration would have given complete satisfaction to the country. Whether its com-

plete and acknowledged failure has been owing to defects in his own character, or to the influence of evil counsels on his mind and measures, is a point which it is unnecessary, and would be ungrateful, to discuss. We should regret to visit with too severe censure the last days of one who, in another line of duty, has done the state much service, and whom nothing but the imprudence of injudicious friends, or rather the efforts of political partisans, who found it convenient to make use of his name and popularity for their own selfish purposes, has prevented from going down to posterity with a high military reputation, and filling an honorable place in our history. We are rather willing to believe that, placed in a situation for which he was by education and character wholly unfit, worn out by toils, infirmities, and the natural progress of age, he acted under influences which, morally speaking, he could not well control. However this may be, it is certain that the expectations and hopes which some persons may have been disposed to indulge of the success of his administration, have been signally disappointed, and that his failure has been more complete than even his enemies could have possibly anticipated. The political history of the Union for the last three years exhibits a series of measures plainly dictated in all their principal features by blind cupidity or vindictive party spirit, marked throughout by a disregard for good policy, justice, and every high and generous sentiment, and terminating in a dissolution of the Cabinet, under circumstances more scandalous than any of the kind to be met with in the annals of the civilized world. The voluntary dissolution of the Cabinet authorizes the remark which we have made above, that the failure of the administration of General Jackson was not only signal and complete, but *acknowledged*; and it is remarkable that, after this public acknowledgment of his incapacity to execute the duties of his office, through agents appointed by himself, even to his own satisfaction, he should deem it expedient to offer his services to the nation for a second term.

The first official act of the President indicated in a striking and painful manner, in how small a degree any favorable anticipations that might have been formed of his conduct were likely to be realized. We allude to his Inaugural Address to the People, in which he levelled against the administration of his predecessor a sweeping charge of incapacity and corruption. A charge of incapacity to conduct the civil affairs of the country, preferred by Andrew Jackson against such men as Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay, and their distinguished colleagues in office, was in itself ludicrous; but the imputation of corruption was of a more serious character. Had there been the least foundation for it in fact, it is obvious that the last person who ought to have made it his business to denounce it to the public was the President of the United States, who has no other constitutional agency in regard to such offences but the power of pardon. The indecorum of this denunciation was hardly less glaring than its essential injustice, and can only be paralleled by that of the subsequent denunciation of the same administration, on the same authority, to a foreign government.

This proceeding awakened in the mind of every good citizen, painful forebodings as to the consequences which were to follow upon such a commencement.

These forebodings were too soon realized. The next act of the Administration was a general removal of such of the public agents as were not recommended by attachment to the person or party of the President. The extent to which this system was carried is strikingly evinced by the fact, that within a month after the inauguration of Gen. Jackson, more persons

were removed from office than during the whole forty years that had elapsed since the adoption of the Constitution. The motive which led to this policy is illustrated by the fact, that it was applied principally in States where a majority of the people were opposed to the Administration, while in the others there were comparatively few removals. Such was the practical comment on the text of the Inaugural Address, which denounced the preceding Administration as having brought the patronage of the Government into conflict with the purity of elections. The Foreign Ministers were abruptly recalled at great expense to the country, in some instances before they had reached their destination, and in all, without the observance of the common forms of civility towards them, or the Governments near which they were accredited. Among the victims of proscription at home were some of the most respectable and interesting persons in the community—veterans, who, after fighting the battles of the war of independence, had been placed by the justice of the Government in the offices they held, and were now rudely thrust out of them to endure, at an advanced age, the miseries of actual want, as a reward for the devotion of their whole lives to the public service. This was not all. This universal proscription, taken in connection with the tenor of the Inaugural Address, amounted to a charge of universal corruption. Common justice required that the individuals against whom such a charge was brought should have opportunity to defend themselves. None was given. No enquiry was ordered. No specifications were made. No examination was had. When a public servant of unblemished character, now a member of Congress, demanded of the late Secretary of State an explanation of this implied charge of corruption, under which he had been removed from his place as a Clerk in the Department of State, he was coolly informed that no harm was meant, and that no explanation would be given. Even this was not the worst. Attempts were made in more than one instance, under pretext of a stricter control of the public accounts, to deprive these victims of persecution of the scanty remnant of their means of subsistence. A public servant of most respectable character and venerable years, was not only removed and thrown upon the world, at the age of more than eighty, but actually had his furniture seized, under a Treasury warrant of distress, upon a false pretence of peculation, at a time when, as appears from a subsequent decree of the competent tribunal, the United States owed him more than twelve thousand dollars. Other cases occurred of a precisely similar character. Can there possibly be any thing behind more revolting than this? There is. In the case of the Assistant Postmaster General, there is too much reason to fear that there occurred in the Post Office Department an actual alteration of the public accounts, for the purpose of fixing upon that most meritorious public servant, the blame of some supposed malversation in office, which had really been committed by his successor. We cannot but hope, for the honor of the country, that some explanation will yet be given of this transaction, consistent with the probity of the individuals at the head of the Post Office.

The history of the administration of civilized Governments presents no parallel to this scene. Many of the partisans of Gen. Jackson have shrunk from the task of defending it and taken refuge in a bold denial of the fact. Public writers of some respectability did not scruple to affirm that there had been no removals on account of political opinions, as if—to use the indignant language of a Roman historian—they thought they could blot out the record of their doings from the memory of the human race. After a while, the charge of corruption seems to have been abandoned, and in his first

message to Congress the President justified himself on the principle of *rotation in office*; affecting to suppose that the public would derive an advantage from employing new agents as fast as the old ones acquired, by experience, the capacity for performing their duties with ability and success. The doctrine, which, if applied to practice in private life, would be thought to argue a degree of imprudence equivalent, in its effects, to insanity, and would immediately ruin the most prosperous establishments—was gravely announced as an acknowledged truth. It was affirmed that the natural effect of possessing an office was to create negligence and corruption in the person holding it; that the public lost more in this way than was gained by the additional experience and dexterity resulting from the same cause—that frequent changes in office were highly expedient—that all offices should be held for short terms, and, in particular, that the constitution ought to be so amended, that no person should be eligible a second time for that of the President of the United States.

The principles, whether true or false, are irrelevant to the subject, because the removals from office by General Jackson were not made, either really or professedly, for the purpose of change or rotation; but, professedly, because the incumbents were incapable or corrupt, and really for the purpose of “rewarding his friends and punishing his enemies.” No disposition has been shown to apply this wholesome principle of rotation to the President’s partisans, and the best illustration of the real meaning of the language used on this occasion, is to be found in a letter written from the President’s house, under the President’s frank, to a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, requesting him to use his influence to procure from the Legislature a nomination of the President for re-election. This doctrine of rotation in office had, therefore, nothing to do with the matter. The motives assigned, in the first instance, by the President, viz: the incapacity and corruption of the incumbents, would have been sufficient had they been founded in fact; but it was felt that no removal for such reasons would be tolerated by the public, unless the supposed incapable or corrupt functionary was first put upon his trial, and allowed an opportunity of defending himself against the specific charges, whatever they might be, which had been preferred against him. It was therefore found necessary to abandon this ground, and for want of a better resort was had by the President’s counsellors to the stale sophistry of rotation in office.

On the appointments which were made to fill the numerous vacancies occasioned by these removals, we shall not enlarge. Among them are to be found the names of some persons very honorably known to the public; but they were made, in general, almost avowedly for no consideration but that of party, and in many instances, with so little discretion that they were rejected, and in some cases, unanimously, by the Senate. An occurrence of this kind is, we believe, without a parallel at any previous period of our history, and would be sufficient of itself to throw discredit on the Administration. Of the persons so rejected, some were recommended anew, under circumstances amounting to an attempt by the President to force them into office against the known opinion of his constitutional advisers. On this occasion was also exhibited a striking example of the inconsistency between his professions before his election, and his subsequent practice. Although he had himself signalized the appointment of members of Congress to office as a great abuse, he selected four of the five heads of Departments from that body, and appointed its members to other places to an extent which had never been known before. Although he had inveighed with warmth against

the supposed corruption of the public press under the preceding Administration, and in his Inaugural Address had even denounced his predecessor for having brought the patronage of the Government into conflict with the purity of elections, partisan editors were now among the most favored classes of pretenders to employment. Under these circumstances the first year of the present Administration presented little else than an eager and tumultuous scramble for place. The offices which were instituted for the public service, and ought to be conferred with a view to no other object, were apparently, and even avowedly, treated as prizes to be distributed among the conquerors in the struggle of parties. What have we been fighting for—was the language of some of the leading Administration prints—if the public offices are not to be the spoils of victory?

Such were the auspices under which the present Administration commenced their career. They were not of a kind to create high expectations from the result of their labors. The subsequent progress of events has shown clearly that the least favorable expectations that could possibly have been formed of their policy were yet too sanguine—that our most important institutions are now seriously threatened, and that a continuance in the course that we are pursuing will probably plunge the country, at no distant period, into dangerous—perhaps irremediable confusion.

In the conduct of the foreign affairs, there has been, however, an appearance of success, in consequence of the fact that several arrangements with foreign Powers which had been matured, and in some instances concluded, under the preceding Administration, have been made public under this. Such was the case with the treaties with Austria, with Brazil, with Denmark, and with Turkey. In announcing the conclusion of these arrangements, a President of an elevated and generous disposition would have taken delight in doing complete justice to the merits of a political competitor. General Jackson took to himself, without scruple or ceremony, the whole credit of these negotiations, and on this and other occasions affectedly avoided to mention the name of his predecessor. In the recent treaty with France the principle adopted by the last Administration in the arrangements with Denmark were proposed as the basis of a compromise, and in consequence of a favorable change in the internal policy of the former Power, was assented to. The treaty with Great Britain, supposing it even, which may well be doubted, to have been the best arrangement which circumstances rendered practicable, was obtained by concessions derogatory to the honor of the country, and the dignity of the Government.

The Administration have, in other respects, mistaken the leading principles in the true foreign policy of the country. With Russia, our most important, powerful, and useful political ally, our relations have been wholly neglected. At a critical moment in the political affairs of Europe, when our influence with the Emperor of Russia might have been turned to the best account in favor of the cause of free government, when the breaking out of a general war may render his influence in Europe of the highest importance to ourselves, a distinguished citizen, who had for many years represented the country with extraordinary credit and success at St. Petersburg, and who was known to be personally agreeable to the Imperial family, is abruptly recalled, and the affairs of the Legation left in a wholly uncertain and discreditable state.

On the great subject of internal policy which have given rise to conflicting opinions and adverse feelings among the citizens, the course of the President has been so inconsistent and vacillating that it is impossible for

any party to place confidence in his character, or to consider him as a true and effective friend. By avowing his approbation of a judicious tariff, and at the same time recommending to Congress precisely the same policy which had been adopted as the best plan of attack by the opponents of the measure : by admitting the constitutionality and expediency of internal improvements of a national character, and at the same moment negating the most important bills of this description which were presented to him by Congress, the President has shown that he is either a secret enemy of the system, or that he is willing to sacrifice the most important national objects in a vain attempt to conciliate the conflicting interests, or rather adverse party feelings and opinions of different sections of the country. How can the President be regarded at the North and West as the friend of the Tariff and Internal Improvements, when his only recommendation at the South is the anticipation that he is the person through whose agency the whole system is to be prostrated ? With a Chief Magistrate who acts upon so temporising and uncertain a policy, it is obviously impossible that any abatement can take place of the excitement that prevails upon these disturbing topics. It is only through the intervention of a statesman, in whose known sentiments and elevated character all parties can place confidence, that a hope can be entertained of so regulating these delicate subjects as to extend a fair and impartial protection to all the great branches of industry, whether agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, or mechanical, without exciting the just apprehensions of any sincere and enlightened friend of the Constitution and the Union.

Next to the great measures which protect and encourage domestic industry, the most important question, connected with the economical policy of the country, is that of the U. S. Bank. This great and beneficial institution, by facilitating exchanges between different parts of the Union, and maintaining a sound, ample, and healthy state of the currency, may be said to supply the body politic, economically viewed, with a continual stream of life-blood, without which it must inevitably languish, and sink into exhaustion. It was first conceived and organized by the powerful mind of Hamilton. After having been temporally shaken by the honest though groundless scruples of other statesmen, it has been recalled to existence by the general consent of all parties, and with the universal approbation of the people. Under the ablest and most faithful management it has been for many years past pursuing a course of steady and constantly increasing influence. Such is the institution which the President has gone out of his way in several successive messages, without a pretence of necessity or plausible motive, in the first instance six years before his suggestion could with any propriety be acted upon, to denounce to Congress as a sort of nuisance, and consign, as far as his influence extends, to immediate destruction.

For this denunciation no pretext of any adequate motive is assigned. At a time when the institution is known to all to be in the most efficient and prosperous state—to be doing all that any bank ever did or can do, we are briefly told in ten words, that it has not effected the objects for which it was instituted, and must be abolished. Another institution is recommended as a substitute, which, so far as the description given of it can be understood, would be no better than a machine in the hands of the Government for fabricating and issuing paper money without check or responsibility. In his recent message to Congress, the President declares, for the third time, his opinion on these subjects, in the same concise and authoritative style as before, and intimates that he shall consider his re-election as an expression of

the opinion of the people that they ought to be acted on. If, therefore, the President be re-elected, it may be considered certain that the Bank will be abolished, and the institution which he has recommended, or something like it, substituted in its place.

Are the People of the United States prepared for this? Are they ready to destroy one of their most valuable establishments, to gratify the caprice of a Chief Magistrate, who reasons and advises upon a subject, with the details of which he is evidently unacquainted, in direct contradiction to the opinion of his own official counsellors? Are the enterprising, liberal, high-minded, and intelligent MERCHANTS of the Union, willing to countenance such a measure? Are the cultivators of the West, who find in the Bank of the United States a never failing source of that CAPITAL, which is so essential to their prosperity, and which they can get nowhere else, prepared to lend their aid in drying up the fountain of their own prosperity? Is there any class of the People or section of the Union, so lost to every sentiment of common prudence, so regardless of all the principles of republican government, as to place in the hands of the Executive Department the means of an irresponsible and unlimited issue of paper money—in other words, the means of corruption without check or bounds? If such be, in fact, the wishes of the People, they will act with consistency and propriety in voting for General Jackson, as President of the United States; for, by his re-election, all these disastrous effects will certainly be produced. He is fully and three times over pledged to the People to negative any bill that may be passed for re-chartering the Bank, and there is little doubt that the additional influence which he would acquire by a re-election, would be employed to carry through Congress the extraordinary substitute which he has repeatedly proposed.

It may be said, indeed, that the President's counsellors do not agree with him on this subject, and may perhaps overrule his opinion before the time of action shall arrive. In his recent report to Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury has, in fact, undertaken an apology for the Bank, which, coming from him, can be viewed in no other light than as a formal defence of that institution against the attack made upon it by the President, although he concludes with the intimation, that his view may be modified in compliance with those of the Executive; as if he were not himself the head of the financial branch of that Department. It is one of the singularities of our present political situation, that while we are told on the one hand by the President's partisans, that his acknowledged incapacity may and will be remedied, by the employment of an able Cabinet, we are now told, on the other hand, by this "able Cabinet," that they cannot control the President's conduct, and that their sounder notions must be modified so as to meet the views of the Executive. In what we are apt enough to consider as the corrupt and servile Courts of Europe, a Cabinet Minister who cannot prevail upon the "Executive" from whom he holds his commission to apopt his views, resigns his commission. He deems it improper to modify his opinions, in order to suit them to the views of the Executive—in other words, to make himself responsible for a scheme of policy which he does not approve. But supposing that the present Secretary of the Treasury, if continued in place, would be able, when the time of action should arrive, to overrule the President's opinion, substitute his own views for those of the Executive, and stay this great mischief—what security can the country feel that he will be so continued? Who can assure us that some explosion, resulting from causes too frivolous to be even made, with propriety, the subject of distinct

allusion in a serious political document, will not scatter the present Cabinet, like the last, to the four winds of Heaven, and introduce into the councils of the nation a new set of advisers, still more ready than those who now occupy that place, to accommodate their opinions to the views of the Executive? The only security which the country can have for the proper discharge of the duties of the Executive, as of every other branch of the Government, is the capacity, fidelity, and industry of the individual who is by law responsible for that Department—that is, the President; and experience has amply shown, that an individual who is unfit for the office himself, is equally unfit to select those who are to assume his responsibility, and be virtually Presidents under him.

The Judiciary Department, an institution still more important than any one can be that merely affects the economical interests of the Union, seems also to be seriously threatened by the perverse policy of the present administration. The great improvement made by the adoption of the present constitution in the political system of the Old Confederation, was the extension of the power of the Union over the persons of the individual citizens, through the action of the Federal Courts, including, as a necessary ingredient, a right of appeal to these Courts from the decisions of those of the States. The adoption of this single salutary provision raised us from the situation of a cluster of poor, imbecile, and, for all substantial purposes, mutually dependent States, oppressed with debts, disturbed by insurrections, and on the verge of absolute anarchy, into our subsequent condition of one great, powerful, prosperous, glorious, free, and independent Federal Republic. The rejection of this wholesome principle would bring us back again to the same situation in which we stood before. Notwithstanding this, a powerful party, represented by several important States, and by a large and respectable portion of the people, seem to consider the Union, and the principles on which it is founded, positive evils. Much is said of the sovereignty and independence of the States, and of their right, as separate States, to annul the laws; while threats are held out, which have not in all cases proved to be mere empty words, that this right is to be immediately exercised, and the Union of course virtually dissolved.

Under these circumstances, it was to have been expected that the President, as the head of the Executive Department, and the natural guardian of the rights and powers of the Federal Government, would have exerted his influence to check this dangerous spirit. Instead of this, we find him openly encouraging it, and acting under its influence. When a proposition to repeal, without a substitute, the section of the judiciary act which authorizes the appeal from the State to the Federal Courts, and forms the foundation of the jurisprudence of the Union in this respect, was made in Congress, it was favored by the immediate friends of the President, and by the journals under his control; and at the recent organization of the House of Representatives, the member proposing the repeal was placed at the head of the Judiciary Committee. These proceedings seem to indicate a settled intention in the administration to shake the independence and destroy the efficiency of this most important branch of the government.

The last point which we shall notice in the conduct of the Administration, as relates to the internal policy of the country, and it is, perhaps, the most important of all, as far as concerns the principles involved, is that of our relations with the Indian tribes, and particularly that portion of the Cherokees situated within the territorial limits of Georgia. A series of ~~so-~~ ~~lemn~~ treaties, concluded successively by all the Administrations of the Gene-

ral Government since the period of its establishment, guaranteed to these Indians the possession of their lands without interference or intrusion from any quarter, their right of governing themselves according to their own laws within those limits, and their character of sovereign States. An Act of Congress passed in the year 1802, authorised and required the President to protect the Indians in the rights guaranteed to them by those treaties, if necessary, by the employment of the military force. In open violation of all these solemn engagements, the State of Georgia has lately extended her jurisdiction over the territory and persons of the Cherokees situated within her limits, interrupted them in the possession of their dwellings and plantations, and attempted to deprive them of the character of distinct communities, while the President, instead of protecting the Indians against these acts of wholly unauthorised violence, has openly countenanced the pretensions of Georgia, and, instead of employing the armed force of the United States in their defence, has actually withdrawn that force at the instance of the offending party, from the scene of action, and left the unoffending natives entirely at the mercy of their enemies.

The recent inhuman and unconstitutional outrages committed under the authority of Georgia, upon the persons of several unoffending citizens, heretofore residing as missionaries within the territory of the Cherokees, constitutes, perhaps, the most unjustifiable portion of these proceedings. They have received, like the rest, the countenance and approbation of the General Executive. Few examples can be found, even in the history of barbarous communities, in which the sacred character of a minister of religion has furnished so slight a protection against disrespect and violence to the persons invested with it. We rejoice to learn that this subject will shortly be presented to Congress and to the People, in full detail, and in a form fitted to excite the attention which it so well deserves.

It appears from this concise survey of the present situation of the Union, as regards the principal branches of our foreign and domestic policy, that it is the duty of all patriotic citizens not only not to aid in the re-election of the present incumbent to the Chief Magistracy of the Union, but to use their efforts to effect a change in the National Administration: and in order that such efforts may be made with success, the time has now arrived when it is necessary to designate a candidate for the succession, whose name may be a rallying point and principle of union among the citizens who are opposed to the re-election of Andrew Jackson.

In looking round the country for such a person, it is almost superfluous to say, that the eyes of all are instinctively directed towards that illustrious citizen, who, after occupying the most distinguished places in the gift of the people, and in all the departments of the administration, has dwelt for some years past in tranquil retirement in the bosom of the West. The qualifications and services of HENRY CLAY are too well known to require the aid of our testimony. As a statesman, advocate, and orator, he has been from his youth upwards the pride of our courts and legislative halls. As an ardent, fearless, and consistent friend of liberty and republican institutions, he has endeared himself to their friends through the world. His devotion to this great cause, furnishes the surest guaranty that he will, on all occasions, assert the supremacy of the laws, and that Executive power in his hands, will be their faithful auxiliary. As one of the principal founders, and supporters of the American System, he is entitled to the warm support of all who desire the prosperity of the great cause of domestic industry and internal improvement. The signal success with which he conducted the affairs of the Department of

State evinces his capacity for the actual business of administration; while the generous frankness and captivating warmth of his manners, eminently fit him for a situation, where, in order to be useful, it is necessary to conciliate the public favor as well as to transact with ability the public business. He has already been designated in various ways, and in all quarters of the country, as the candidate of the opposition, and we consider it the duty of all good citizens to use all the means in their power for the purpose of securing his election.

In proposing, in connexion with the name of HENRY CLAY, as a candidate for the Presidency, that of JOHN SERGEANT as a candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States, the Convention offer to your suffrages a citizen of acknowledged talents, various accomplishments, large experience in the highest and most honorable public trusts, unblemished reputation, and the most ardent and unwearied zeal for the honor and interest of the country. Pennsylvania has long looked up to him as one of her chief ornaments, and the citizens of other parts of the Union, in placing him in the second office in the Executive Department of the government, will be happy to show their concurrence in sentiment with that great and patriotic state.

Without meaning to encourage an undue confidence, which would only generate inactivity, we believe that, with proper exertion, the success of the good cause is beyond the possibility of doubt. The present Administration has for some time past been justly discredited in public opinion—General Jackson has been gradually losing, ever since the commencement of his official term, the popularity with which he entered it. Whole sections of the Union have been alienated from him by his strange and inconsistent course upon the Tariff and Internal Improvement. Extensive interests have been thrown into opposition by his reckless and unaccountable denunciation of the Bank. Many of his ablest partisans among the public writers have deserted him, and if any considerable portion of reflecting men still adhered to his standard, the wanton attacks upon the Judiciary Department must have driven them from it in disgust. The unity of his party is completely broken up, by the late open rupture between the friends of the Vice President and the late Secretary of State: and at this moment the citizens opposed to his re-election, constitute a large majority of the whole population of the United States. Under these circumstances it is quite apparent, that nothing is wanted but zeal, activity, and concert, to ensure success.

• The aspect of this Convention—the unanimity and spirit which have marked its proceedings—and the favorable results which may be expected from its influence upon the community, afford ample security that these requisites will not be deficient.

Such, fellow-citizens, is the character of the present Administration—such are the motives for changing it, and such are the persons whom we recommend to you for the Chief Executive Officers. Compare their qualifications with those of their competitors: and may the goodness of Providence so enlighten your choice, that it may tend to promote the security and permanency of our excellent political institutions, and the true greatness and glory of our beloved country.

JAMES BARBOUR, President.

ALLEN TRIMBLE,	}	Vice Presidents.
JOSEPH KENT,		
PETER B. PORTER,		
ROBERT TEMPLE,		
JAS. L. TILLINGHAST,	}	Secretaries.
HENRY BACON,		

ADDRESS OF MR. BARBOUR

To the Convention, previous to its adjournment.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

I rise, as well for my colleagues as myself, to return you our sincere thanks, for the proof you have just given us of your approbation. For myself, individually, I have to remark, that this fresh proof of your kindness, added to the many which it has been your pleasure to show me since our meeting together, has increased, exceedingly, my obligation, which I shall endeavor to repay, by cherishing, through life, a grateful remembrance of the occurrences which produced them.

It is with sincere pleasure, I can declare, that my satisfaction, with all that has occurred here, has been without the alloy of a single adverse circumstance.

I have seen, and the sight filled me with joy, not only the young and the athletic—but sages, laboring under bodily infirmity—among whom, I beg particularly to refer to Gov. Morrow, of Ohio, who has so kindly, and in terms so flattering, adverted to the public services of my colleagues and myself. Of Governor Morrow, I can, in all sincerity, declare, that, having met him in the councils of the nation, in the darkest period of the late war, I ever found him pure in motive, firm in purpose, wise in council, always ready for any measure called for by the exigency of the times, and ardently devoted to the interest, and to the glory of his country. Such men I have seen, at this most extraordinary inclement season, coming from the ends of the earth, traversing mountains and streams, regardless of all personal sacrifices, coming here, in the perilous state of our public affairs, to offer us their counsel, and to aid us in replacing our country on the height from which it has been cast down. Their attendance alone, under such circumstances, is but too strong proof of the unquiet state of the public mind. I have seen a Convention, thus composed, of the young and of the old, concurring in every measure adopted, with an unanimity so unparalleled, as in itself to furnish a presage of success.

I have witnessed an unanimous call on the youth of the land—the future men of America, for whom the old men are rather acting as Trustees for their benefits—than for themselves, in the great interests involved in the coming contest—these have been unanimously invoked to meet in Convention, and by their superior activity—and by their unadulterated zeal and patriotism, to aid us in the good cause. We have unanimously agreed, in an address to the American People, containing a brief outline of our grievances and our fears, and setting forth the reasons which have impelled us to the course we have adopted—and finally, we have unanimously agreed on the two distinguished citizens to be recommended to the good people of the United States, as candidates, worthy of their support, for the two highest offices within their gift. An unanimity, not effected by a caucus drill, but resulting from the voluntary and spontaneous wish of every member of the Convention. On such an unanimity, I most cordially congratulate you.

In offering the name of HENRY CLAY to the American People, as worthy

of the first office in the world, we present a proud example of the practical operation of our Republican Institutions. Born to no inheritance but poverty, he has been able, by his superior genius alone, to trample over the difficulties of his condition, and advancing from step to step, finally to reach the highest pinnacle of fame. This is the position which has been assigned him by the verdict of his countrymen, from which there is no appeal. This attitude is eulogy enough—but I may add, having long served with him in the public councils, and having been frequently connected with him, by relations the most intimate, I can most sincerely declare in your presence—and would to God I could so extend my voice, that the sound thereof should reach every hamlet and every cabin in the land—I can most sincerely declare to you, and to the world, that I have never heard a sentiment from him, in the most unguarded moment of privacy and mutual confidence, at war with his public character; but in private as well as public, I have ever found him the zealous advocate of liberty, wherever her banner has been unfurled. His is a generous and wide extended sympathy in her cause, bounded neither by latitude nor longitude; and hence he deservedly enjoys the most enviable of all titles—the champion of human rights in both worlds. But he is as fearless as he is generous. It was by his voice mainly, that his country was roused from her long forbearance to foreign wrongs; and when these wrongs were avenged by war, it was his good fortune, by his diplomatic talents, materially to aid in effecting an honorable peace. Where would have been our heroes or our trophies, but for the weight of his counsels! and in what terms shall we speak of the gratitude of a General who turns the laurels he has acquired in this very war, into means of ruining the man to whose counsels he is indebted for his fortune. In fine, what great measure is there in the political affairs of the country, for the last thirty years, with which the name of HENRY CLAY is not advantageously identified.

JOHN SERGEANT is a name that must challenge universal respect. The citizen of a state whose metropolis has long been regarded as the favorite seat of every art and science; in such a state, he stands high among the distinguished. By his long and useful services in the councils of the nation, uniting experience with a profound intellect, he has given his country a sure earnest of his high qualification for the distinguished office to which he has been recommended.

If, then, we fail of success, it cannot be from our candidates—it must be from our cause—but when we look to that, we have ample ground for increasing confidence in our success. We feel assured that all may rally around it who delight in seeing a great mind emerging from poverty and obscurity, and directing its whole energies to the interests of human kind. We may call on the aid of all who hate persecution, and rejoice in doing justice to an innocent man—long the object of the most malignant calumny. We may confidently hope for the cordial support of all those who abhor a tyranny which prostitutes a power intended for a whole people, to the gratification of a mean revenge, or to the pampery of worthless favorites. A tyranny so comprehensive that it finds food for its indulgence in the pettiest officer of the Government, and, at the same time, so capricious as to make even its favorites on whom it has thrown the cast garments of its ruined victims, eat their bread with trembling, and reducing them to the condition of slaves, permits them no will but its own. We must successfully appeal to all the generous and magnanimous, who cherish freedom of opinion as the first and most essential of our privileges, and who cannot but detest that more

than unquestionable intolerance which exacts a slavish devotion to a name, and inflicts disfranchisement on all who refuse to bend the knee in token of obedience.

We may confidently invoke in behalf of our cause, the blessing of every chaste American matron and daughter throughout the land—to them we must look as the best hope of the Republic—their blessing is the most acceptable offering we can make to Heaven.

Surely our cause must find friends among those who have firmness enough to disapprove of an exercise of executive authority, so capricious as while it admitted both the fidelity and capacity of his constitutional advisers, drove them from office, not even condescending to inform the great council of the nation, the reasons for so extraordinary, and in our annals, so unexampled a precedence. All such must wish to see instead of these new courses, the government replaced on its ancient foundations; when these constitutional advisers of the President were selected for their virtue and intelligence, responsible to the people for the advice they might give, and in turn, reposing on a faithful discharge of their duty, as a shield against wanton removals without cause, or such a cause as dare not be avowed. We may expect the support of those who think names, when weighed against measures, as nothing, and who are desirous to place our institutions and Union, under the superintending care rather of a citizen distinguished alike for his superior intellect and long experience in civil affairs, than confide them to one whose only claim to our consideration, results from his having been a successful soldier; and finally, looking beyond the narrow bounds of factions and of parties—their strifes and uncharitableness, which threaten the ruin of the republic; to a higher and to a holier object, our country and our children, we invoke Americans by their sacred ties, no matter by what name they may have heretofore been called by political jugglers, to rally around our National Republican cause. We ask the aid of all who prefer the supremacy of the laws to the arbitrary will of one man; liberality and brotherly love to proscription; peace on earth, and good will to man, to a reign of terror; and their country, to the election of an imbecile old man, whose political career commenced in farce, but whose termination, unless speedily effected, must end in tragedy.

A cause which thus addresses itself to the best feelings of the American people, carries with it the guarantees of success. Cheered with these considerations, we, the delegation of a portion of the people, and by their authority, have unanimously erected our standard in this patriotic city, and displayed our banner with the motto, **CLAY, Liberty and Union**. A few days will carry the intelligence throughout all our borders; and every where, in town and country, in the mountains and in the valley, this emblem will be floating, and become the rallying point of patriots. Against it will be arrayed not only our respectable opponents, but the worst passions of men. The shafts of calumny will be pointed against it, poisoned anew—each venal press will seek to defile it by incipient streams of sooty abuse. The office seeker and office holder, and expectants, whose tribes and number almost defy calculation, will array themselves against it, and join in one general chorus of denunciation. Formidable as may be this host, still be not afraid. Let no man falter; every one must do his duty, and do it fearlessly. Permit not yourselves to become the dupes of the artifices of your antagonists. Suffer not yourselves to be alarmed with the ostentatious boasts of your opponents, or dispirited by their clamorous shouts of anticipated victory. *"Pride goeth before a fall."* When the sun rose on Israel, her every high

place was smoking with incense to Baal; four hundred and fifty Prophets partook of the sacrifices, and ministered at those altars of abomination; and before them all Israel bowed the knee, save one Prophet of the true faith. He went forth singly to encounter these idolaters, attended by the power of righteousness; and before the sun went down, he had convinced these deluded worshippers, that their Prophets were false and their idol an impostor. Under all circumstances then, whether ye be few or many, despair not, but throw yourselves on the righteousness of your cause. Its eventual triumph rests on the moral order of things.

Our meeting here, I trust, is to constitute an epoch in our history; to me in every possible vicissitude of human affairs, it will be a never failing source of the most pleasing recollection, as having furnished me the opportunity of mingling again with old friends, dear to me from former associations, and I hope also, by it, to make many new ones, coinciding in views and united in the same great and good cause; but if, in addition to these considerations, our efforts should be crowned with success in effecting the deliverance of our country from its present degraded thralldom, it will so swell its importance, that it will become a source of proud reflection to all who were here.

But let the prophecies of our opponents be fulfilled. Let us fail. What then? Shall we be without hope or consolation? No; we have a consolation left, beyond the power of man. We can most conscientiously lay our hands on our hearts, and in the presence of the Judge of all the earth, attest our disinterestedness. And if fail we must, we feel that we fall in the cause of our country.

In this moment of final separation, let me tender to you the ardent wishes of my colleagues and myself, that you may have a safe and pleasant return to your respective abodes, and to tender to you all, as we do most sincerely, an affectionate farewell.

convention of young men, 1832
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

OF YOUNG MEN,

WHICH ASSEMBLED IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON

MAY 7, 1832.

WASHINGTON:

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1832.

Copy 3

PROCEEDINGS, &c.

THE Convention of the National Republican Young Men of the United States assembled, pursuant to notice, at the City Hall, in the city of Washington, at 9 o'clock, on Monday, May 7, 1832. The meeting being called to order, on motion of N. SARGENT, Esq., of Pennsylvania, ZACCHEUS COLLINS LEE, Esq. was appointed President, pro tem. and JAMES BARBOUR, Jr. of Virginia, Secretary.

On motion of Mr. PIATT, of Ohio, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That a committee, to consist of one from each delegation, to be selected by such delegation, be appointed; whose duty it shall be, to examine the credentials of the members of this Convention, and report thereon.

Resolved, That a committee, to consist of four, be appointed by the Chair, who shall confer with the Committee of Arrangements of the District, on the practicability of procuring a more commodious place of sitting for the Convention.

On motion of Mr. GAMAGE, of New York, it was

Resolved, That it is proper and becoming to invoke Divine assistance in all important undertakings; and, therefore, that the reverend Clergy of this city be invited to attend this Convention, and commence the meeting each day with prayer.

The Convention then adjourned until 5 o'clock, when they again met, for the purpose of examining certificates, and making other preliminary arrangements.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the officers of this Convention consist of a President, four Vice Presidents, and two Secretaries; and that a committee be appointed, to consist of one delegate from each State represented, and one from the District of Columbia, to be selected by their respective delegations, to nominate suitable persons to fill the above named offices, and that they report to-morrow at the opening of the Convention.

TUESDAY, May 8, 1832.

The Convention met, agreeable to adjournment.

Prayer by the Reverend Mr. Palfrey.

Mr. FLAGG, of South Carolina, from the committee appointed to recommend officers for the Convention, reported that they had selected the following gentlemen:

<i>President</i> ,	WILLIAM COST JOHNSON, of Maryland.
<i>First Vice President</i> ,	WILLIAM LUSH, of New York.
<i>Second Vice President</i> ,	CHARLES JAMES FAULKNER, of Virginia.
<i>Third Vice President</i> ,	WILLIAM P. FESSENDEN, of Maine.
<i>Fourth Vice President</i> ,	GEORGE W. BURNET, of Ohio.
<i>First Secretary</i> ,	GEORGE P. MOLLESON, of New Jersey.
<i>Second Secretary</i> ,	J. K. ANGELL, of Rhode Island.

Which report was unanimously adopted.

On being conducted to the chair, Mr. JOHNSON returned his acknowledgements, as follows:

GENTLEMEN: Unaccustomed, from my pursuits in life, to public speaking, I rise, under the influence of much embarrassment, to return you my sincere and grateful thanks for the honor your kindness has thus conferred on me; but regret that your choice has not fallen on a more worthy member of this Convention.

I am convinced, gentlemen, that no personal merit of mine has elicited this appointment, but that it has been conferred on the State which I in part have the honor to represent. Bringing with me to this station but little more than the will to dedicate my best exertions to its duties, and being but slightly conversant with parliamentary rules, I should have shrunk with self-distrust from the task, were I not sustained by the hope, that the generosity which prompted your choice will not be withheld, but that your liberal indulgence and co-operation will be extended to me, and that, over the errors I may commit, in discharge of the arduous and multifarious duties of this station, the broad mantle of your forbearance and charity will be thrown.

Deeply penetrated with the importance of this Convention, and viewing it as auspicious of the safety and permanency of our free institutions, I am convinced that that indulgence and good feeling the Chair invokes for itself will be extended to all its members. In an assembly like the present—so numerous, so patriotic, and so talented—the necessity of harmony and order, to give efficacy to our proceedings, must be apparent.

The eyes, gentlemen, of the whole nation are upon you and your deliberations; and I am sure that nothing will characterize them but zeal, concert, and union. Coming, as you do, warm from the bosom of your constituents—from the North, the South, the East, and the West—animated by one motive, and determined to promote one great object, I trust that no sectional feelings will distract your deliberations, but that all interests will be merged in the great interest of the National Republican party.

Proceeding, therefore, with this concert of action and intensity of purpose, we shall discharge our duties with honor to our constituents and ourselves, and diffuse, from this common centre, throughout this widely extended confederacy, an influence and opinions worthy the great cause that has brought us together.

The members being then called, more than three hundred delegates answered to their names.

[The names of all the delegates, together with their post offices, as far as ascertained, will be found at the close of the proceedings of the Convention.]

On motion of Mr. SEMMES of Maryland, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to ZACCHEUS COLLINS LEE, Esq. of Washington, for the ability and dignity with which he has presided over the deliberations of the Convention, as President pro tem. And also, to JAMES BARBOUR, jun. of Virginia, for the ability with which he discharged his duties as Secretary pro tem.

On motion of Mr. DUER, of New York, it was

Resolved, That a committee be appointed, to consist of five members, whose duty it shall be to report to this Convention, what subjects, in their opinion, it may be proper and expedient for this Convention to consider, and the best and most convenient mode of considering the same. And that said committee further report, such rules and regulations, if any, as they may deem necessary to govern the proceedings of the Convention.

The following gentlemen were appointed to constitute said committee.

Mr. DUER, of New York, Mr. HUNTER, of Virginia, Mr. PIATT, of Ohio, Mr. COALE, of Maryland, Mr. LITTLE, of Pennsylvania.

On motion of Mr. CUMMING of Ohio, it was

Resolved, That, from and after this day, this Convention will assemble twice a day. The hour for assembling in the morning to be nine o'clock, and the hour of adjournment eleven o'clock. The hour for assembling in the afternoon to be four o'clock, and the hour of adjournment for the day to be determined by the convention.

And the Convention adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, May 9th.

The Convention again assembled, and after prayer by the Reverend Mr. Hatch, of the Episcopal Church, Mr. DUER, of New York, from the Committee for that purpose, reported the following business for the consideration of the Convention.

- 1st. A nomination of President and Vice President of the United States?
- 2d. The appointment of a committee to draught an address to the National Republican Young Men of the United States.
- 3d. A committee to draught resolutions expressive of the sense of this Convention.

Which report being accepted, DAVID GRAHAM, jun. of New York, rose, and proposed the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention, entertaining the highest sense of the talents, patriotism, and integrity of HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, and of the purely American feeling which induced the National Republican Convention, held at Baltimore on the 12th of December last, to nominate him as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States at the ensuing election, do most cordially concur in that nomination, and recommend him to the support of the Young Men of the United States.

Which, being seconded by Mr. FAULKNER, of Virginia, was received with great applause, and unanimously adopted.

Mr. CREED, of Ohio, then submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That, having the highest sense of the moral worth, integrity, and uncompromising patriotism of JOHN SERGEANT, of Pennsylvania, this Convention do most heartily concur in his nomination as a candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States at the coming election, and earnestly recommend him to the support of the Young Men of the United States.

Which, being seconded by Mr. ANDERSON, of Ken., was unanimously adopted.

It was then, on motion of Mr. CONSTABLE, of Maryland,

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of one delegate from each State and the District of Columbia, be appointed by the President, to draught an Address to the Young Men of the United States, setting forth the objects and views of this Convention.

And the following gentlemen were selected for this purpose:

From *Maine*—R. H. Vose,
Vermont—John M. Pomeroy,
New Hampshire—Hampden Cutts,
Massachusetts—William Lincoln,
Rhode Island—W. W. Hoppen,
Connecticut—A. N. Skinner,
New York—N. B. Blunt,
New Jersey—J. P. B. Maxwell,
Pennsylvania—J. A. Denney,
Delaware—Charles Marim,
Maryland—Albert Constable,
Virginia—Alexander Stuart,
South Carolina—H. C. Flagg,
Louisiana—S. Brown,
Ohio—H. E. Spencer,
Kentucky—Rd. Pindell,
District of Columbia—Z. C. Lee.

On motion of Mr. FLAGG, of South Carolina, seconded by Mr. PERKINS, of Connecticut, it was

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of one individual from each State represented in this Convention, and the District of Columbia, be appointed to draught resolutions upon such subjects as shall be deemed proper to be acted upon by this Convention.

The following gentlemen were accordingly selected for this purpose:

Messrs. William Paine, of Maine; E. Seymour, of Vermont; T. Darling, of New Hampshire; Thomas Kinnicutt, of Massachusetts; James Anthony, of Rhode Island; C. M. Emerson, of Connecticut; C. Morgan, jun. of New York; J. D. Miller, of New Jersey; E. T. M'Dowell, of Pennsylvania; Evan H. Thomas, of Delaware; Thomas G. Pratt, of Maryland; Andrew Hunter, of Virginia; Henry C. Flagg, of South Carolina; S. Brown, of Louisiana; William N. Bullitt, of Kentucky; Edward H. Cumming, of Ohio; Thomas P. Coleman, of the District of Columbia.

The Convention then adjourned.

THURSDAY, May 10th.

The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock. Prayer was offered up by the Reverend Mr. Post, of the Presbyterian Church. The names of the several delegates who had arrived in the city, and reported themselves, were then read over, and it appeared there were 316 members in attendance.

Mr. STEUART, of Maryland, submitted the following; which was unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of one delegate from each State represented in this Convention, and one from the District of Columbia, be appointed to wait on HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, and inform him of the unanimous concurrence of the National Republican Young Men of the United States, in Convention assembled, in his nomination to the office of President of the United States; and that they extend to him the assurance of the profound respect entertained by this Convention for his exalted virtues, his comprehensive intelligence, and his uncompromising patriotism; and ascertain at what time and place it will be agreeable to him to receive the respects of this Convention.

The committee appointed were as follows:

Messrs. Gardiner, of Maine; Prentiss, of Vermont; Darling, of New Hampshire; Prescott, of Massachusetts; Wilkinson, of Rhode Island; Burgess, of Connecticut; Van Schaick, of New York; Halsey, of New Jersey; Jackson, of Pennsylvania; Cook, of Delaware; Steuart, of Maryland; Barbour of Virginia; Flagg, of South Carolina; Brown, of Louisiana; Atwood, of Ohio; Johnson, of Kentucky; Bradley, of the District of Columbia; Beall, of Michigan.

On motion of Mr. GAMAGE, it was unanimously

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of one delegate from each State represented, and one from the District of Columbia, be appointed, to inform JOHN SERGEANT, of Pennsylvania, of the unanimous and hearty concurrence of the Young Men of the United States, in Convention assembled, in his nomination to the office of Vice President of the United States.

The committee was composed of the following gentlemen:

Messrs. Barrett, of Maine; Austin, of Vermont; Avery, of New Hampshire; Crowninshield, of Massachusetts; D'Wolf, of Rhode Island; Emerson, of Connecticut; Gamage, of New York; Kaighn, of New Jersey; Hanna, of Pennsylvania; Rodney, of Delaware; Bradford, of Maryland; Robinson, of Virginia; Flagg, of South Carolina; Brown, of Louisiana; Casey, of Ohio; Blane, of Kentucky; Kinsley, of the District of Columbia; Beall, of Michigan.

On motion of Mr. BRANTZ MAYER, of Maryland, seconded by Mr. VAN SCHAICK, of New York, it was unanimously

Resolved, That a committee be appointed by the Chair, which shall consist of one delegate from each State represented in this body, and one from the District of Columbia, whose duty it shall be to express to CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of our Declaration of Independence, the high sense entertained by the members of this Convention of the virtues of himself and associates, and of their labors in the great cause of national union and independence.

The committee appointed were—

Messrs. Hubbard, of Maine; Rich, of Vermont; Cutts, of New Hampshire; Chapman, of Massachusetts; Rhodes, of Rhode Island; Harris, of Connecticut; Graham, of New York; Tuttle, of New Jersey; Roberts, of Pennsylvania; M'Comb, of Delaware; Mayer, of Maryland; E. P. Hunter, of Virginia; Flagg, of South Carolina; Brown, of Louisiana; Pease, of Ohio; Pindell, of Kentucky; Forrest, of District of Columbia; Beall, of Michigan.

On motion of Mr. HALSEY, of New Jersey, seconded by Mr. SANDFORD, of Connecticut, it was

Resolved, That this Convention is desirous of visiting the tomb of George Washington, and that a committee be appointed, respectfully to apprise the proprietor of the estate of Mount Vernon of the wish of the Convention, and to make suitable arrangements to carry this resolution into effect.

On motion of Mr. LEE, of the District of Columbia, seconded by Mr. FLAGG, of South Carolina, it was

Resolved, That the National Republican Young Men of the United States, in this Convention assembled, do highly approve of the wisdom and firmness of the

Senate of the United States, in rejecting the nomination of MARTIN VAN BUREN as Minister to England; and also applaud the independence and patriotism of JOHN C. CALHOUN, Vice President of the United States, in giving the casting vote on that occasion.

The Convention then adjourned.

FRIDAY, *May 10th.*

The Convention met at 9 o'clock.

After prayer by the Reverend Mr. HILT, of the Methodist Episcopal church,

Mr. STEUART, of Maryland, from the committee appointed to wait upon Mr. CLAY, made the following report, accompanied by the correspondence annexed:

The Committee appointed to wait upon Mr. CLAY, and make arrangements for his reception, respectfully report:

That they have had the same under consideration, and, after mature deliberation, recommend that Mr. CLAY be waited upon by a sub-committee, consisting of John M. Steuart, Edward G. Prescott, and H. C. Flagg, at ten o'clock this morning, who shall conduct him to a seat on the right hand of the President; that the chairman of this committee shall introduce him to the President, and the President introduce him to the Convention. After being introduced to the Convention, which shall rise on the announcing of his name, the President shall address him on behalf of the Convention, and the Convention shall, without being seated, receive his answer. It is further especially recommended, that no demonstration, by applauding, be made by the Convention, until after Mr. Clay shall have answered the President's address. All which is respectfully submitted.

The Committee to Mr. Clay.

WASHINGTON, *May 10, 1832.*

TO HON. HENRY CLAY:

SIR: The undersigned, appointed a committee, by the National Republican Young Men now assembled in the city of Washington, to announce to you the following resolution,* passed unanimously by that body, beg leave to tender to you the assurance of the respect of the Convention for your virtues, genius, and patriotism, and request to be informed at what time it will suit your convenience to comply with the wishes of the Convention, as expressed in the resolution.

With great respect,

JOHN M. STEUART, *of Maryland, Chairman.*

R. H. GARDINER, *of Maine.*

SAMUEL B. PRENTISS, *of Vermont.*

EDWARD G. PRESCOTT, *of Massachusetts.*

EDWARD S. WILKINSON, *of Rhode Island.*

D. BURGESS, *of Connecticut.*

J. B. VAN SCHAIK, *of New York.*

C. H. HALSEY, *of New Jersey.*

GEO. W. JACKSON, *of Pennsylvania.*

LEVI G. COOCH, *of Delaware.*

JAMES BARBOUR, Jr. *of Virginia.*

HENRY C. FLAGG, *of South Carolina.*

S. BROWN, *of Louisiana.*

J. S. ATWOOD, *of Ohio.*

F. J. JOHNSON, *of Kentucky.*

JOSEPH H. BRADLEY, *of the District of Columbia.*

SAMUEL W. BEALL, *of Michigan.*

* For resolution see preceding page.

Mr. Clay's Reply.

WASHINGTON, 10th May, 1832.

GENTLEMEN:

I have received your note of this day, communicating a copy of a resolution adopted by the National Republican Convention of Young Men, now assembled in this city, announcing their unanimous concurrence in my nomination as a candidate for President of the United States, and expressing a desire to be informed of the time when it would be convenient for me to receive them in a body.

I request, gentlemen, that you will convey to the Convention the very high degree of satisfaction which I have derived from this testimony of their confidence and approbation. Proceeding as it does from gentlemen voluntarily called from all parts of the Union, prompted by no other than the most patriotic motives, the impression on my mind is as deep and gratifying as it will be permanent and grateful.

Presuming that it will be agreeable, as it will be most convenient, that I should meet the Convention at the hall which has been provided for their accommodation in this city, I will wait on them to-morrow morning, at 10 o'clock, unless they should be pleased to indicate some other more suitable hour and place.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

John M. Steuart, *Chairman*, and Messrs. R. H. Gardiner, Samuel B. Prentiss, Timothy Darling, Edward G. Prescott, Edward S. Wilkinson, D. Burgess, J. B. Van Schaick, C. H. Halsey, George W. Jackson, Levi G. Cooch, James Barbour, Jun. Henry C. Flagg, S. Brown, J. S. Atwood, F. J. Johnson, Joseph H. Bradley, Samuel W. Beall, &c.

At 10 o'clock Mr. CLAY entered the hall of the Convention, and was introduced by the committee to the President, and by him to the Convention generally.

The President then rose, and addressed Mr. CLAY as follows:

SIR:

As the organ, and in the name of the National Republican Young Men in this Convention assembled, I welcome your presence on this interesting occasion, and tender to you, in their behalf, the respects, the gratitude, and the admiration of those that surround you. Your private worth and public services have placed you before them—the object of their patriotic labors and hopes.

About to close the duties that brought us together, we could not, as a body, separate, without this offering of our feelings and sentiments to the man whose name and principles are associated with the liberty and glory of our beloved country.

With such a name, and such principles, we go forth united and active in a great cause; and feel assured, that, in an appeal to the Young Men of America, the CONSTITUTION and HENRY CLAY will be triumphant.

To which Mr. CLAY replied, with much feeling, as follows:

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:

In conformity with your resolution, communicated through a committee of your body, I have the honor of presenting myself before you; and I avail myself of the occasion to express the deep and grateful sense which I entertain of the distinguished proofs which you have on this and other days of your session, given to me, of your esteem and confidence. Should I be called by the People of the United States to the administration of their Executive Government, it shall be my earnest endeavor to fulfil their expectations; to maintain, with firmness and dignity, their interests and honor abroad; to eradicate every abuse and corruption at home; and to uphold, with vigor, and equality, and justice, the supremacy of the constitution and the laws.

Our greatest interest in this world, is our Liberty. Derived from our ancestors, by whose valor and blood it was established, it depends upon the vigilance, virtue, and intelligence, of the present generation, whether it shall be preserved and

transmitted to posterity, as the most precious of all earthly possessions. Next to that, in importance, is our Union, indissolubly connected with it, also derived from the fathers of our country. But what we want is a practical, efficient, and powerful Union—one that shall impartially enforce the laws towards all, whether individuals or communities, who are justly subject to their authority—a Union which, if it shall ever be deemed necessary to chide one member of the Confederacy, for rash and intemperate expressions, threatening its disturbance, will snatch violated laws and treaties from beneath the feet of another member, and deliver free citizens of the United States from unjust and ignominious imprisonment.

Gentlemen, it belongs to you, and the young men of your age, to decide whether these great blessings of Liberty and Union shall be defended and preserved. The responsibility which attaches to you is immense. It is not our own country alone that will be affected by the result of the great experiment of self-government which will be shortly committed exclusively to your hands. The eyes of all civilized nations are intensely gazing upon us; and it may be truly asserted that the fate of Liberty throughout the World, mainly depends upon the maintenance of American Liberty. May you, gentlemen, be deeply penetrated with the magnitude of the sacred trust confided to you. May you transfuse into the bosoms of your contemporaries the enthusiasm which burns in your own! And may the career on which you are all just entering, be long, and happy, and illustrious!

The Convention then adjourned for half an hour.

On being again called to order,

Mr. N. B. BLUNT, of New York, from the committee appointed to draught an address to the young men of the United States, reported an address which had been prepared by the committee; which, being read, was unanimously adopted.

Mr. KINNICUT, of Massachusetts, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following:

1. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, although the fundamental principles adopted by our fathers, as a basis upon which to rear the superstructure of American independence, can never be annihilated, yet the time has come when nothing short of the united energies of all the friends of the American Republic can be relied on, to sustain and perpetuate that hallowed work.

2. *Resolved*, That an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country; and that an abandonment of the policy at this period would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation.

3. *Resolved*, That a uniform system of internal improvements, sustained and supported by the General Government, is calculated to secure, in the highest degree, the harmony, the strength, and the permanency of the Republic.

4. *Resolved*, That the Supreme Court of the United States is the only tribunal recognized by the constitution for deciding, in the last resort, all questions arising under the constitution and laws of the United States, and that, upon the preservation of the authority and jurisdiction of that court inviolate, depends the existence of the Union.

5. *Resolved*, That the Senate of the United States is pre-eminently a conservative branch of the Federal Government; that, upon a fearless and independent exercise of its constitutional functions, depends the existence of the nicely balanced powers of that Government; and that all attempts to overawe its deliberations, by the public press, or by the national Executive, deserve the indignant reprobation of every American citizen.

6. *Resolved*, That the political course of the present Executive has given us no pledge that he will defend and support these great principles of American policy and of the constitution; but, on the contrary, has convinced us that he will abandon them whenever the purposes of party require.

7. *Resolved*, That the indiscriminate removal of public officers, for a mere difference of political opinion, is a gross abuse of power; and that the doctrine lately "boldly preached" in the Senate of the United States, that to the "victor belong the spoils of the enemy," is detrimental to the interests, corrupting to the morals, and dangerous to the liberties of the People of this country.

8. *Resolved*, That we hold the disposition shown by the present national administration, to accept the advice of the King of Holland, touching the north-eastern boundary line of the United States, and thus to transfer a portion of the

territory and citizens of a State of this Union to a foreign Power, to manifest a total destitution of patriotic American feeling; inasmuch as we consider the life, liberty, property, and citizenship, of every inhabitant of every State, as entitled to the national protection.

9. *Resolved*, That the arrangement between the United States and Great Britain relative to the colonial trade, made in pursuance of the instructions of the late Secretary of State, was procured in a manner derogatory to the national character, and is injurious to this country in its practical results.

10. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every citizen of this Republic, who regards the honor, the prosperity, and the preservation of our Union, to oppose, by every honorable measure, the re-election of ANDREW JACKSON, and to promote the election of HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, and JOHN SERGEANT, of Pennsylvania, as President and Vice President of the United States.

On motion of Mr. BUELL, of New York, it was

Resolved, That the wasteful expenditures and improvident contracts made by the present Postmaster General, and his indiscriminate removal from office of so many hundreds of individuals throughout these United States, for no other reason but their refusal to sacrifice their honor, evince either a total ignorance of official duties, or an utter destitution of moral worth in the presiding officer of that Department, and a lamentable recklessness of principle in our Chief Magistrate, who sustains and upholds him.

SATURDAY, May 12th.

On motion of Mr. SARGENT, of Pennsylvania, it was

Resolved, That this Convention accept, with pleasure, the report of the American Colonization Society, politely tendered in behalf of that society by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, and that the thanks of this Convention be presented to him for the same.

On motion of Mr. FLAGG, of South Carolina, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention be presented to Messrs. Gales & Seaton, for their politeness in furnishing to the members of the Convention extra numbers of the National Intelligencer, and in the presentation of pamphlets.

On motion of Mr. ALVORD, of Massachusetts, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Rev. Clergy of Washington, who have kindly officiated at our meetings.

On motion of Mr. POMEROY, of Vermont, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Committee for the District of Columbia for the arrangements made by them for the accommodation of the Convention.

On motion, the thanks of the Convention were presented to the President, Vice Presidents, and Secretaries, for the ability with which they had discharged their several duties.

The President then, on behalf of himself and his associates in office, returned his acknowledgments to the Convention as follows:

GENTLEMEN: I am unwilling to let the present opportunity pass without tendering to you, for myself, and on behalf of those who have been associated with me, in this expression of your approbation, our profound and lasting acknowledgments. When first called on to preside over the deliberations of this Convention, I accepted the honor with distrust, and only upon the belief that your forbearance and co-operation would lend their influence to the discharge of the arduous duties of the station. Nor have I been disappointed: for the high estimate which I then formed of the generosity and indulgence of this Convention, has been most amply realized. All that I can tender you, gentlemen, for so many marks of your friendly consideration, is the lasting gratitude of my heart.

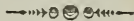
I will not let the present opportunity escape without congratulating you, gentlemen, and the National Republican Young Men throughout the country, who elected you, upon the courteous and successful manner in which the deliberations of this Convention have been conducted. Meeting, gentlemen, as you have, from the opposite extremities of the Union, from every portion of this extensive confederacy, no local considerations, no sectional interests, have for a single instant arrested the

harmony or the unanimity of your deliberations. The high and patriotic purpose for which you assembled has been your only consideration; and every other feeling, every other motive, has been united in one animated effort to advance what you conceive the best interest of our common country. From every portion of this hall, from every quarter of the Union, there has been, as it were, but one voice, but one interest, but one great and undivided purpose. This Convention is novel in its kind. Trace back the annals of all history, and this will be found to be the first instance in which the young men of a whole nation, alarmed for the institutions of their country, and anxious to wipe away the national disgrace inflicted by servile, incompetent, and unworthy rulers, have assembled in solemn Convention. They have assembled for no other purpose than to produce that concert of action and co-operation, which shall be its influence rescue the constitution and the violated laws from an imbecile and corrupt Executive, and place them in the hands of abler and better men. And who that has observed the character and talent of this Convention, is not convinced of its salutary results, and does not see in it the highest assurance of the strong moral and political influence that it will diffuse in every region of the Union—composed as it is of upwards of three hundred members, all freely interchanging views and opinions characterized by the strictest deference and comity, each liberal in sentiment and elevated in bearing, and manifesting an identity of purpose, a conjunction of zeal, animation, and firmness, that augur the most salutary and successful results. And I do not hesitate to believe that each member of this large and talented Convention will leave this city with a warm and firm purpose to exert all his powers of mind and person to infuse a zeal in every State, in every county, in every town, and in every neighborhood, which shall animate the young men throughout the whole Union to a proper sense of their influence in sustaining the principles which have been here sanctioned and promulged the American policy, and in support of the independence and dignity of our country, by placing in the highest offices of the Government HENRY CLAY and JOHN SERGEANT, whose names are identified with all that is pure in patriotism, elevated in honor, disinterested in friendship, open, frank, and manly, or essential to preserve pure our constitution, the policy of our country, and the happiness, prosperity, and liberty, of the People.

But the hour admonishes me that I am trespassing: for I am detaining the boat that is to bear the members of this Convention to the shades of Mount Vernon, where we purpose paying a solemn tribute of respect at the tomb of our beloved WASHINGTON, whose name hallows and is hallowed.

In conclusion, therefore, allow me, gentlemen, to express a hope that the generous and social feelings which have pervaded our intercourse will be cultivated and cherished; and when we separate, as we soon must, that we will all still be united in feelings and in principles, and that there will be carried on without restraint a full and frank correspondence on all subjects of social and political interest. I shall always cherish with exquisite fondness the recollection of the many valuable and worthy acquaintances I have here formed. And in, now closing our labors, I wish you, in the sincerity of my feelings, not only a safe and pleasant journey home to your families and your friends, but that your journey through life may be long, useful, and profitable, and crowned with honor to yourselves and your country.

The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.



CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, May 10, 1832.

SIR: The undersigned, a committee on behalf of the Convention of National Republican Young Men, convened at the City of Washington, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States, to be supported by them at the ensuing election, have been instructed respectfully to communicate to you the following resolution unanimously adopted by that body:

“Resolved, That, having the highest sense of the moral worth, integrity, and uncompromising patriotism of JOHN SERGEANT, of Pennsylvania, this Convention do most heartily concur in his nomination as a candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States, at the coming election, and earnestly recommend him to the support of the Young Men of the United States.”

Permit us, sir, to add the expression of the high respect entertained for your character by the members of this committee respectively.

THADDEUS P. ROBINSON, *Virginia*.
 EDWARD GAMAGE, *New York*.
 JAMES HANNA, *Pennsylvania*.
 WILLIAM F. D'WOLF, *Rhode Island*.
 GEORGE P. AVERY, *New Hampshire*.
 G. C. CROWNINSHIELD, *Massachusetts*.
 HENRY F. RODNEY, *Delaware*.
 SENECA AUSTIN, *Vermont*.
 CHARLES KAIGHN, *New Jersey*.
 JOHN L. BLAINE, *Kentucky*.
 HENRY C. FLAGG, *South Carolina*.
 CHARLES E. BARRETT, *Maine*.
 S. BROWN, *Louisiana*.
 G. W. BURNET, *Ohio*.
 BENJAMIN S. KINSEY, *District Columbia*.
 A. W. BRADFORD, *Maryland*.
 CHARLES M. EMERSON, *Connecticut*.
 S. W. BEALL, *Michigan*.

To the Hon. JOHN SERGEANT.

PHILADELPHIA, May 12th, 1832.

GENTLEMEN: Mr. Corbit has delivered to me your letter of the 10th inst., communicating a resolution of the Convention of the National Republican Young Men lately assembled in the City of Washington, in which they express their unanimous concurrence in my nomination as a candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States, and recommend that nomination to the support of the Young Men of the United States.

Be pleased, on behalf of the Convention, to accept my sincere acknowledgments for the honor they have done me in deeming me worthy of their support for one of the highest trusts of the Republic. To have a place in the hearts and the minds of this interesting portion of our fellow-citizens, is a gratification of no ordinary kind—it is greatly enhanced by the consideration, that the body from which the expression of regard has come, has, in the short period of its session, acquired for itself a clear title to peculiar respect, by the talent, the dignity, and the thorough acquaintance with our Republican institutions, which have so eminently distinguished its deliberations and proceedings.

For the members of the Convention, for their constituents, and for our beloved country, I humbly implore the continued favor of a gracious Providence, whose aid alone can enable us rightly to perform the various duties that may fall to our lot.

I beg you to accept my thanks for the kind expressions in your letter, together with the assurance of the respect and regard of, gentlemen, your friend and fellow citizen,

JOHN SERGEANT.

To THADDEUS P. ROBINSON, Esq. and others, a Committee of the Convention of National Republican Young Men.

The Committee appointed by the Convention to wait upon the venerable CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton, waited on that venerable patriot, in pursuance of their appointment, and, after being announced to him,

Mr. BRANTZ MAYER, the chairman, addressed him as follows:

RESPECTED SIR:

Three hundred young men, from all parts of this extended Union, lately convened in the city of Washington, have deputed me, as chairman of a committee appointed by them, to hand you the letter which I now have the honor to present. And, in doing so, suffer me, sir, for myself and for the gentlemen around, to observe, that we will ever deem this one of the proudest days of our lives, and cherish in our bosoms, to the last hour of our existence, the deepest respect and

warmest admiration for him who, in connexion with the departed fathers of our Revolution, gave that impulse to human freedom which is now regenerating the world.

I beg leave, sir, to read you the following letter:

To Charles Carroll, of Carrollton:

WASHINGTON, *May 12, 1832.*

SIR: The National Republican Young Men assembled in Convention, in this city, beg leave, with great respect, to tender you an expression of their gratitude for your eminent services as a distinguished patriot of the Revolution.

It is a duty which they are proud to discharge. The example of those who have gone before us is never without influence. The one to which we now look is of no ordinary character.

In that band of patriots who first declared to the world the rational inalienable rights of man, and, in support of that declaration, staked their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors, who, in moral excellence and courage, in firmness of purpose, and purity of heart, excelled CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton? Amidst that galaxy of talent, which, like a sign in the heavens, lighted our fathers through a wilderness of wrongs, to the goal of freedom, and diffused its rays over the oppressed, the suffering, and benighted, of *all nations*, no star burned with a more intense, yet mild and steady blaze, than that which we contemplate, still bright, descending in the horizon of freedom, and shedding its benignant lustre on admiring millions.

May that star yet long remain in our unclouded sky, and only set to rise in "perfect glory!"

We will humbly endeavor to walk by its light.

BRANTZ MAYER, of Md. (Chairman)
 CALVIN J. HUBBARD, of Maine,
 J. RICH, of Vermont,
 HAMPDEN CUTTS, of New Hampshire,
 HENRY CHAPMAN, of Massachusetts,
 G. A. RHODE, of Rhode Island,
 DAVID GRAHAM, of New York,
 J. N. TUTTLE, of New Jersey,
 E. W. ROBERTS, of Pennsylvania,
 J. B. MACOMB, of Delaware,
 E. P. HUNTER, of Virginia,
 H. C. FLAGG, of S. Carolina,
 CALVIN PEASE, of Ohio,
 S. BROWN, of Louisiana,
 R. PINDELL, of Kentucky.
 G. FORREST, of D. Columbia.

After Mr. MAYER had concluded, Mr. CARROLL declared himself highly gratified by the expression of the feelings of the Young Men of the United States, and hoped that they might enjoy, uninterruptedly, through life, and transmit unimpaired to their posterity, the noble institutions of this happy land.

Mr. HORNOR, of New Jersey, from the Committee of Ways and Means, who were appointed to communicate with the proprietor of Mount Vernon, relative to a visit to the tomb of WASHINGTON, submitted the following correspondence; which was read, and ordered to be entered on the Journal of the Convention:

WASHINGTON CITY, *May 10, 1832.*

JOHN A. WASHINGTON, Esq.

SIR: The undersigned having been appointed a committee, by the Young Men's National Republican Convention, now assembled in this city, for the purpose of expressing to you their desire to visit the tomb of GEORGE WASHINGTON, at Mount Vernon, respectfully, on their behalf, request your permission to manifest, in this manner, their regard and veneration for his virtues, his patriotism, and dis-

tinguished merits, and the gratitude they owe to the father and benefactor of their country.

With high respect, we have the honor to be,
Sir, your most obedient servants,

CALVIN R. HUBBARD, *of Maine.*
JOSEPH P. STICKNEY, *of New Hampshire.*
SAMUEL B. PRENTISS, *of Vermont.*
JAMES C. ALVORD, *of Massachusetts.*
THEODORE SILL, *of Connecticut.*
GEORGE A. RHODES, *of Rhode Island.*
JOSEPH DART, *Jun. of New York.*
ROBERT E. HORNOR, *of New Jersey.*
SAMUEL O. JACOBS, *of Pennsylvania.*
DANIEL CORBIT, *of Delaware.*
JOHN B. WELLS, *of Maryland.*
GEORGE C. POWELL, *of Virginia.*
HENRY C. FLAGG, *of South Carolina.*
JOHN N. JOHNSON, *of Kentucky.*
GEORGE W. JONES, *Jun. of Ohio.*
S. BROWN, *of Louisiana.*
GEORGE A. HYDE, *of District of Columbia.*

MOUNT VERNON, May 10, 1832.

To the Committee of the Young Men's National Republican Convention:

GENTLEMEN: I am always gratified at every evidence of respect paid the memory of General WASHINGTON. No objection has ever been made to any one's visiting the tomb, who feels disposed to do so, except on the Sabbath, or in steamboat parties. So respectable a body, therefore, as the Young Men's National Republican Convention, cannot be otherwise than welcome to visit the tomb, grounds, and mansion. of Washington.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully,

Your most obedient,

JOHN A. WASHINGTON.

On motion of Mr. CHAPMAN, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention be presented to JOHN A. WASHINGTON; Esq. for the polite manner in which he has yielded to the wishes of the Convention.

Immediately after adjournment, in pursuance of a resolution, the Members of the Convention proceeded in a body to Mount Vernon, when the Committee of Arrangements, consisting of CHARLES JAMES FAULKNER, of Virginia; HENRY CHAPMAN, of Massachusetts; ROBERT E. HORNOR, of New Jersey; CALVIN MASON, of Pennsylvania; and DAVID GRAHAM, Jun. of New York, waited upon the Proprietor of the estate, and presented to him the respects of the Convention. The members of the delegation then formed in procession, and marched to the strains of a solemn dirge, in silence and uncovered, until they reached the Tomb of the illustrious WASHINGTON. The band then ceased, and the Farewell Address of the Father of his Country was read to the members of the Convention, in a most solemn and impressive manner, by Mr. FLAGG, of South Carolina. The procession then left Mount Vernon in the same order as they approached, and proceeded to the City of Washington.

THE ADDRESS.

To the Young Men of the United States:

More than three hundred of your young fellow-citizens, delegates from seventeen States and the District of Columbia, assembled in convention at the city of Washington, ask your attention to a subject of the greatest importance to you, to ourselves, and to our common country. The selection of our rulers is ever a matter of high interest, as the noblest privilege of a free people; but it becomes especially so when on it may depend, as in the present crisis, the safety of our Constitution, and the permanency of our Union. Two individuals are now before you as prominent candidates for the highest office in your gift. Let us examine for a moment their several qualifications. The first is **ANDREW JACKSON**, the present incumbent, elected but three short years since by a triumphant majority. Fresh from the battle field, with laurels as yet unfaded; unbiassed, as was supposed, by party feeling; untrammelled by pre-conceived systems of policy; he was fondly hailed, as one who would reform every abuse in government; restore our institutions to more than their pristine purity; and rule solely for the good of his country. Four objects he was especially pledged to accomplish. To reduce the expenses of Government; to abolish the practice of appointing members of Congress to office; to restrict the presidential service to a single term; and to destroy the "Monster, Party Spirit." And surely never was there a more favorable opportunity of redeeming such pledges. Coming into power with a personal popularity almost unequalled, and at a time when the country was prosperous at home and respected abroad, harmonious in itself, and at peace with the world, he had every inducement to carry into effect his favorite theories. But how has he performed these promises! Let facts answer. An increase in the expenditures of Government, amounting, during the three years of his administration, to more than ten millions of dollars; the appointment of nineteen members of Congress to office, more than twice the number appointed by any of his predecessors; his appearing not merely as a candidate,—but as a suppliant for continuance in office; these are alone sufficient to show the insincerity of his pledges, and also how flagrantly he has disappointed the hopes of his country. 'Tis true he has destroyed party spirit as it formerly existed—a contest for principles; but it has been only to revive it with a spirit purely selfish—a spirit that looks to HIM alone as its object; that acknowledges no principles but *his* will. An entire subserviency to this will, however capricious and tyrannical, has now become the sole qualification for office; and without it, the united virtues and wisdom of an archangel would be wholly unavailing. Near fifteen hundred victims have already been sacrificed on its Moloch altar. No qualifications, no services, could save them. Those whose long and unremitted attention to official duties had disqualified them from engaging in other pursuits, were not merely driven into beggary, but insulted, reviled, and persecuted, by the hireling ministers of his vengeance, merely because they could not believe, and would not declare, **ANDREW JACKSON** to be the "Greatest and the Best" of men. Even the hoary veterans of the Revolution, who derived from some petty appointment the means of subsistence, (which a grateful country should have afforded in some more ample mode) were turned out of office to hide their penury in a welcome grave. The late Postmaster General, one of the most efficient officers ever possessed by any government, for refusing to become an instrument in this ruthless proscription, was driven from the station he had filled with such honor to himself and his country, to make room for a tool of power.

Let us next see what has been the course of General Jackson, in relation to the most important features of our national policy. Is there a man from Maine to Florida, who knows his real sentiments with respect to those great interests of our country—internal improvement and the protection of domestic industry—or is there one, who regards his reputation for veracity, who can venture to affirm that he has any settled policy on these subjects, further than a determination to render them subservient to his darling project of securing his own re-election, or of smuggling his wily favorite into power? At one moment the South is to be gained, and the Executive veto is employed to stop an important work of internal

improvement. At the next the North is to be conciliated, and he sanctions other works of precisely the same character. On one day he is a friend of the tariff, and ready to enforce it at every hazard; on the next he advises to attack it in detail, and destroy it by piecemeal. Thus, while he alarms all interests, he satisfies none; for, while the northern manufacturers are aware, that, to secure the vote of the South, (could that elect him) he would be willing to reduce their flourishing manufactories to ruins; the southern planters may be equally certain, that, to gain the same object from the North, he would not hesitate to load them with taxes far more grievous than those of which they now complain. On one branch of policy alone, has General Jackson been consistent. His opposition to the United States Bank, urged, again and again, with such zeal and perseverance, in despite of his constitutional advisers, and political friends, may indeed be regarded as proceeding from fixed opinion, or rather from a blind hatred to the institution, stronger than any opinion, originating in personal pique and hostility to a high officer of that institution. It is true, that, alarmed at the consequences of his opposition, he has lately intimated that he may change his opinions on this subject; but who, that understands the character of the man, can be so infatuated as to imagine he will?

We have yet graver charges to urge against the present administration. The public press, once considered as the palladium of our liberties, has, as far as the means of the Executive would allow, been bought up, and rendered a mere instrument to answer his purposes. Editors, almost innumerable, have been rewarded, or purchased with the highest offices in his gift, and hundreds of pensioned presses scattered throughout the land stand ever ready to do his bidding; to laud his vilest acts; to blacken the reputation of those he may wish to injure; and even to weaken, and, if possible, to destroy, the co-ordinate branches of Government. And these branches have been attacked in a manner which shows these hireling presses ready to assist their master in grasping even arbitrary power, and in prostrating at his feet all who oppose his will.

The Senate, with manly independence, rejects an unworthy nomination, and it is at once assailed from every quarter, with epithets too foul to be merited by any but those who use them. The official organ of the Executive will dares even to propose to the American people to abridge its term of service, and strip it of its powers.

The Supreme Court of the United States, too, in the discharge of its highest, its *holiest* duties, thwarts the Executive's pleasure, and instantly, in answer to the angry denunciations of the would-be despot, the adder hiss of the press resounds throughout the land. Its decrees are not to be enforced—its power is to be set at defiance.

But these are not the only acts of his mal-administration. The offices of Government, created by the people for their own benefit, have, as one of his friends on the floor of the Senate shamelessly avowed, been seized upon as "the spoils of the victor," and openly used as bribes and rewards for partisan services.

Persons grossly and notoriously incompetent and unfit—the defaulter, the drunkard, the debauchee, and even the fugitive felon have been nominated for important stations; and when the Senate has refused to sanction his nominations, he has watched the absence of individual members, in order again to urge them. And when this could not be effected, he has appointed his rejected favorites, during the recess of the Senate, to offices not requiring its concurrence.

He has not only filled the existing subordinate departments of Government throughout the country with the creatures of his will, but has also created new ones in order to reward them.

He has not only employed the whole patronage of the Government to control popular elections, but has himself directly interfered in the election of members to Congress.

He has not only permitted his satellites to assail the co-ordinate branches of the Government, but has even, by his own words and actions, sanctioned and approved of their conduct.

He has not only sanctioned the attacks made—by his official pensioned press—upon the Senate of the United States, but has also countenanced wanton personal violence, offered by his political partisans to members of Congress, in the discharge of their constitutional duties, thereby overawing the deliberations of Congress, and assailing the freedom of debate; and may we not apprehend, from the parasites of such an Executive, darker scenes of bloodshed and outrage within the very precincts of our capital!

He has dissolved his cabinet on pretences notoriously frivolous and untrue, and for causes which we will not stain our Address by even enumerating.

He has lent his assistance to oppress the hapless Cherokees, and has encouraged the State of Georgia in resisting the laws of the Union. He has said that he will not carry into effect, as he is bound to do by his official oath, the decision of our highest tribunal—the only expositor of our laws and our Constitution—and has, of his own mere will, declared null and void, laws of Congress, and solemn treaties, which, by the Constitution, are the *supreme* laws of the land.

And what can even his own party urge as a compensation for these acts of foul misrule? They point to the extinguishment of our national debt, and his successful negotiations with foreign Powers. For the first, he deserves as much applause as he does for the returning spring, or for the approaching harvest; for in them he has equal agency. Most of the treaties of which he so proudly boasts were prepared, or matured by the previous administration. For one alone he deserves full credit—that with Great Britain, in relation to the West India trade. And this he has negotiated on terms which former administrations rejected as destructive to our trade, and derogatory to our national honor.

One other negotiation General Jackson is most anxious to have sanctioned, and for that, too, we are willing to give him credit in anticipation. It is the one in relation to our Northeastern boundary, by which a military communication between two of her provinces is given to Great Britain, along our defenceless frontier; the integrity of a member of our Union violated, and millions of acres and hundreds of citizens sold for a ruined fortress.

As a statesman and politician, then, General Jackson merits only the deepest reprobation of the people; and, should we even acknowledge the Chief Magistracy of our country to be a fit reward for mere military services, surely four years of wild misrule is a sufficient reward for one brilliant achievement; else, what, short of absolute and hereditary sway shall, in future times, be accorded to one who might emulate the deeds of Washington?

But let us turn from this dark picture of corruption and imbecility, to brighter scenes. The other prominent candidate for the Presidency, is HENRY CLAY, *of Kentucky*—a man, whose high praise it is, that he is American in every thought, in every feeling. He has been unanimously nominated for the office by a Convention of your fellow-citizens, rarely equalled for numbers, for talents, for intelligence, and patriotism; and that nomination is now as unanimously adopted by an assembly more numerous, and, as we hope, not inferior in patriotism. We recommend him to your choice, as one combining every requisite for the Chief Magistrate of our free, extensive, and mighty Republic. Having spent the preceding part of his life in the service, not of a State or a party, but of our country—our entire country—his expanded mind looks beyond the narrow limits of sectional interests, to the general good of the whole, and of every part. Almost the founder of our systems of internal improvement and domestic manufactures, *his sentiments* on these important subjects have been openly avowed, and nobly defended. To encourage and foster the industry of the North, the East, and the West, and, at the same time, to relieve the burthens of the South, are the grand objects of his policy. And who, we would ask, can be so well qualified to reconcile the conflicting interests which are, even now, shaking the Union to its centre, as he who, on the admission of Missouri, in like circumstances, performed a similar achievement? As a man, of high and untarnished honor—as a statesman, firm, intelligent, consistent, tried in times of difficulty and danger—honored with the confidence of preceding Administrations, and fully imbued with their policy—as the firm advocate of the National Bank—as the unwavering supporter of the Federal Judiciary—as the friend of the oppressed and helpless Indians—as the protector of our national domain, the public lands—as the champion of that constitution which *he* has never violated—we can repose in him, with confidence and safety, the highest trust of a free and enlightened people.

Our candidate for the Vice Presidency has, in like manner, been unanimously nominated; and that nomination unanimously approved by two successive Conventions. The high importance of this office, in itself, and the yet higher consequence it may assume, in an event not impossible, and contemplated by our constitution, render it necessary that it should be filled by a man of the highest talents, the most undoubted patriotism, and of the purest character. Such a one

is JOHN SERGEANT, of *Pennsylvania*—as a jurist, almost unequalled—as a statesman of the highest order, and purely National Republican in his principles—as a man, one of the noblest sons of a noble State—and we, unhesitatingly, recommend him to your support for the second office in the gift of the People.

His intended opponent we will not name. It is the man whom our National Senate have branded as recreant to his country's cause, and as one who was willing to barter her unsullied honor for party purposes.

Young Men of the United States! After this brief statement of the qualifications of the several candidates, we shall not insult you, by asking, which of them is your choice? There is not, there cannot be, room for hesitation. But this is not sufficient. You must not only think, but you must also act with us. Just entering on the business of life, you have a deeper, a far deeper, interest at stake, than those whose career is already half completed; for to you belongs a double portion of the blessings secured by our free and happy government, or a double portion of the bitter curses that must attend its overthrow. It is not in a hopeless conflict that we invoke your aid. The spring-tide of popularity which carried General Jackson into office, is fast sinking to its lowest ebb. Thousands of his once warmest admirers have already deserted his cause—tens of thousands more, convinced of his incapacity and unfitness, wait but the solicitation of a friendly voice to join our ranks; and a thousand times ten thousand of the honest citizens of our country, only need proper information to follow their example. We call upon you, then, to act with the energy of youth, united with the firmness and wisdom of manhood. We call upon you to use every honorable means in your power, and to employ it to the utmost in support of our cause. Let no one say he can do nothing—let each act as though on his exertion alone depended our success. Union, concert, and activity, can do every thing. Should we fail, the fault will be our own. Let us make the proper efforts, and success is certain. For this **WE PLEDGE TO EACH OTHER AND TO YOU, OUR NAMES, OUR EXERTIONS, AND OUR SACRED HONOR.**

NAMES AND RESIDENCE OF THE DELEGATES

TO THE

Young Men's National Republican Convention,

ASSEMBLED IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON,

MAY 7, 1832.

FROM MAINE.—11.

Theodore S. Brown,	Brown's Corner, Kennebec county.
Charles Keene,	Augusta, do. do.
Richard H. Vose,	Do. do. do.
Calvin R. Hubbard,	Emery's Mills, York county,
William P. Fessenden,	Portland, Cumberland county,
William Paine,	Bridgeton, do. do.
Charles E. Barrett,	Portland, do. do.
Robert H. Gardiner, Jr.	Gardiner, Kennebec county.
Asa Barton,	Norway, Oxford county.
J. Jewett,	Portland, Cumberland county.
Thomas Fillebrown, jr.	Washington, D. C.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—6.

Hampden Cutts,	Portsmouth, Rockingham county.
Timothy Darling,	Loudon, Merrimack county.
Moses G. Atwood,	Concord, do. do.
Joseph P. Stickney,	Do. do.
George P. Avery,	Guilford, Strafford county.
Samuel Smith,	Francestown, Hillsborough county.

MASSACHUSETTS.—30.

Edward G. Prescott,	Boston, Suffolk county.
Charles J. Hendee,	Do. do.
J. Vincent Browne,	Do. do.
Jacob Robbins,	Lowell, Middlesex county.
Horatio C. Merriam,	Do. do.
Ephraim H. Bellows,	Concord, do. do.
John Avery,	Lowell, do.
John Hobbs,	Waltham, do.
Isaac L. Hedge,	Plymouth, Plymouth county.
George C. Crowninshield,	Salem, Essex county.
Robert W. Hooper,	Boston.
Thomas G. Appleton,	Do.
Robert Campbell,	Pittsfield, Berkshire county.
Henry L. Sabin,	Williamstown, do.
James K. Kellog,	Dalton, do.
George T. Davis,	Greenfield, Franklin county.
James C. Alvord,	Do. do.
Henry Chapman,	Do. do.
Francis Dwight,	Springfield, Hampden county.
John Ames,	Do. do.
Francis B. Stebbins,	Brimfield, do.
William Lincoln,	Worcester, Worcester county.
Thomas Kinnicutt,	Do. do.
Samuel Hartwell,	Southbridge, do.
Henry A. Delano,	New Braintree, do.
Amory H. Bowman,	Do. do.
Edwin B. Tainter,	Brookfield, do.
Charles C. P. Hastings,	Mendon, do.
Andrew D. McFarland,	Worcester, do.
Donald Macleod,	Northampton, Hampshire county.

RHODE ISLAND.—7.

Joseph K. Angell,
 William W. Hoppen,
 Edward S. Wilkinson,
 William F. D'Wolf,
 George A. Rhodes,
 William Marshall,
 James Anthony,

Providence.
 Do.
 Pawtucket.
 Bristol.
 Providence.
 Do.
 North Providence.

VERMONT.—7.

Seneca Austin,
 George W. Cumings,
 Ozias Seymour,
 Samuel B. Prentiss,
 John N. Pomeroy,
 Albert L. Catlin,
 V. Rich,

Bridport.
 Windsor.
 Middleburg.
 Montpelier.
 Burlington.
 Orwell.
 Shoreham.

CONNECTICUT.—14.

Oliver E. Williams,
 Charles M. Emerson,
 Daniel Burges,
 Theodore Sill,
 S. S. Stocking,
 A. N. Skinner,
 Rollin Sanford,
 Henry Merwin,
 George Perkins,
 William C. Gilman,
 Arthur F. Gilman,
 Allen Harris,
 Elisha L. Fuller,
 David Gallup,

Hartford.
 do.
 do.
 Windsor.
 Glastonbury.
 New Haven.
 Litchfield.
 New Milford.
 Norwich.
 do.
 do.
 Plainfield.
 do.
 Sterling.

NEW YORK.—26.

David Graham, Jr.
 Nathaniel B. Blunt,
 Edward Gamage,
 William Duer,
 Erastus C. Benedict,
 Isaac Teller,
 William A. Davies,
 Olney F. Wright,
 William H. Spencer,
 Oliver Davis,
 Goldsmith Denniston,
 Samuel Curtis, Jr.
 Peter H. Silvester,
 William Lush,
 John B. Van Schaick,
 Henry H. Pease,
 Samuel D. Dakin,
 Sylvanus Holmes,
 John W. Proudfit,
 Julian G. Buel,
 George A. Simmons,
 Christopher Morgan, Jr.
 Henry K. Morrell,
 Robert C. Johnson,
 Seth C. Hawley,
 Joseph Dart, Jr.

New York City.
 do.
 do.
 do.
 do.
 Fishkill, Dutchess county.
 Poughkeepsie, do.
 Coxsackie, Greene do.
 Athens, do. do.
 Newburgh, Orange do.
 Blooming Grove, do. do.
 Hudson, Columbia.
 Kinderhook, do.
 Albany City, Albany.
 do. do.
 Utica, Oneida.
 do. do.
 do. do.
 do. do.
 Salem, Washington.
 Whitehall, do.
 Keeseville, Clinton.
 Aurora, Cayuga.
 Lansing, Tompkins.
 Owego, Tioga.
 Buffalo, Erie.
 do. do.

NEW JERSEY.—22.

Daniel D. Southard,	Somerville, Somerset county.
Robert E. Hornor,	Princeton, do. do.
J. Hamilton White,	Do. do. do.
Charles Kaighn,	Camden, Gloucester county.
Robert K. Matlack,	Woodbury, do. do.
Wm. P. Sherman,	Trenton, Hunterdon county.
George P. Molleson,	New Brunswick, Middlesex county.
J. Dickerson Miller,	Jersey City, Bergen do.
Dr. Thomas B. Gautier,	Do. do. do.
John P. B. Maxwell,	Belvidere, Warren county.
Joseph R. King,	Burlington, Burlington do.
Charles Hoffman,	Andersontown, Warren county.
Robert E. Thomson,	Marksborough, do. do.
Dr. John B. Tuft,	Salem, Salem county.
Dr. Wm. Pearson,	Orange, Essex do.
Charles H. Halsey,	Newark, do. do.
Joseph N. Tuttle,	Do. do. do.
Caleb C. Ward,	Do. do. do.
Wm. Johnson, junr.	Do. do. do.
Silas Scisson,	Do. do. do.
Peter Duryea,	Do. do. do.
Jabez P. Pennington,	Do. do. do.

PENNSYLVANIA.—46.

David Landreth, Jr.	Philadelphia,
James Hanna,	Do.
Joseph G. Clarkson,	Do.
George P. Little,	Do.
Jacob B. Lancaster,	Do.
Morgan Ash,	Do.
Henry C. Corbit,	Do.
Caleb Cope,	Do.
William White, Jr.	Do.
Charles Evans,	Do.
Theodore M. Hart,	Do.
Adam Woelper, Jr.	Do.
Osmon Reed,	Do.
Jabez W. Small,	Do.
Simon Jordan,	Do.
Samuel O. Jacobs,	Churchtown, Lancaster county,
William Heck,	Lancaster, do.
John L. Wright,	Columbia, Lancaster county,
William Williamson,	Westchester,
Isaac Downing,	Downingstown,
George Thomas,	Do.
John Parker,	Parkersville,
Samuel McClean,	Do.
Henry K. Strong,	Harrisburg,
Edmund W. Roberts,	Do.
Augustus O. Heister,	Harrisburg.
Serrill C. Lebaron,	Do.
G. H. Bergoss,	Do.
E. T. McDowell,	Doylestown, Bucks county,
Thomas Watson,	Do. Do.
Nathan Sargent,	Huntingdon, Huntingdon county,
William Irvin,	Bellefont, Centre county,
Osten Kirten,	Do. do.
George W. Hitner,	Carlisle,
E. M. Biddle,	Do.
Robert H. Shannon,	Harrisburg,
E. M. Read,	Do.

George A. Cook,
George W. Jackson,
William Little,
Thomas L. Shields,
Simon Jordan,
Calvin Mason,
Mordecai R. Moore,
William K. McDonald,
J. R. Denny,

Pittsburg,
Do.
Do.
Do.
Philadelphia county,
York, York county,
Montgomery county,
Washington, Washington county,
Chambersburg, Franklin county.

DELAWARE.—15.

Daniel Corbit,
Thomas M. Rodney,
Evan H. Thomas,
Levi Cooch,
John Higgins,
Ignatius T. Cooper,
Charles Marion,
Samuel H. Hodson,
Joseph G. Oliver,
Doc. James P. Lofland.
James B. Macomb,
Henry F. Rodney,
Benjamin Burton,
George Frame,
Caleb S. Layton,

Cantwell's Bridge, Newcastle county.
Wilmington, do.
Newcastle, do.
Pencader, do.
Delaware City, do.
Dover, Kent county.
Do. do.
Smyrna, do.
Milford, do.
Do. do.
Dover, do.
Lewis,
Millsborough, Sussex county.
Georgetown, do.
Do. do.

MARYLAND.—52.

J. A. McKaleb,
B. G. Harris,
Wm. Cost Johnson,
John W. Pratt,
John B. Wells,
Neilson Poe,
John Sothoron,
Cheston Ringgold,
John C. Groome,
Albert Constable,
Augustus W. Bradford,
L. E. Barber,
J. Fenwick Brent,
James S. Morsell,
J. B. Burk,
Daniel Kent,
Wm. W. Laird,
Joseph S. Cottman,
John C. Kennedy,
Robert Ghiselin,
Wm. R. Foulke,
Wm. Coale,
Edgar M. Gattan,
S. M. Semmes,
Thomas Karney,
Brantz Mayer,
Thos G. Pratt,
Philip Key,
Edward Dubois,
Benjamin E. Gant,
John Davis, Jr.
John B. Ricaud,
John M. Steuart,
Philip B. Key,

Taney Town, Frederick county.
Leonard Town, St. Mary's do.
Jefferson, Frederick do.
Do. do. do.
Annapolis.
Frederick city.
Benedict, Charles county.
Hagerstown.
Elkton.
Rock Run.
Baltimore.
Leonardtown, St. Mary's.
Charles county.
Prince Frederick, Calvert county.
Lower Marlborough.
Do.
Cambridge, Dorchester county.
Princess Ann, Somerset county.
Port Tobacco, Charles county.
Nottingham, Prince George's county.
New Market, Frederick county.
Liberty town, do.
Rockville, Montgomery county.
Piscataway, Prince George's county,
Do. do.
Baltimore,
Upper Marlborough, P. G's county,
Do. do.
Annapolis,
Upper Marlborough, P. G's county,
Hagerstown,
Chestertown,
Baltimore,
Upper Marlborough, P. G.'s county,

Alexander H. Tyson,
J. M. S. Causin,
Wm. T. Purnell,
George P. Jinkins,
N. L. Goldsborough,
Wm. A. Dulany,
John H. Riggs,
John A. Carter,
Edward W. Belt,
Allen B. Davis,
Wm. Ogden Niles,
Francis Brengle,
James M. Coale,
George H. Calvert,
Henry Ellicott,
Wm. L. Gaither,
Zadok M. Waters,
Dr. S. C. White,

Govenstown, Baltimore county,
Leonardtown, St. Mary's county,
Denton, Caroline county,
Port Tobacco, Charles county,
Cambridge, Dorchester county,
Port Tobacco, Charles county,
Lisbon, Anne Arundel county,
Rockville, Montgomery county,
Upper Marlborough, P. G.'s county,
Brookville, Montgomery county,
Frederick city,
Do.
Do.
Baltimore,
Patuxent Forges, Anne Arundel county,
Unity, Montgomery county,
Clarksburg, do,
Montgomery county.

VIRGINIA.—40.

G. Cuthbert Powell,
Robert T. Luckett,
C. C. McIntyre,
Joseph A. Williamson,
Charles Jas. Faulkner,
Edmund P. Hunter,
Lewis Glover,
Cary S. Page,
James R. Gardner,
Joseph G. Gray,
Wm. F. Turner,
Wm. V. Neale,
Robert E. Lee,
Luther O. Sullivan,
James W. Foster,
Andrew Hunter,
John J. Brown,
Levi C. Cordell,
Wm. C. Worthington,
Thomas R. Ditty,
Geo. W. Lewis,
Wm. R. Rose,
Samuel Taggart,
Thomas S. McClelland,
John J. Dyer,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
James Barbour, Jr.
Thaddeus P. Robinson,
Thomas L. Lomax,
Richard H. Stewart,
Francis C. Fitzhugh,
Gustavus B. Wallace,
Robert B. Semple,
Alexander M. Bruen,
Lewis J. Fourniguit,
Richard H. Gatson,
John B. L. Marsden,
Alex. Clarke,
Wm. Doyle,
Francis Mallory,

Middleburg, Loudon county.
do. do.
Leesburg, do.
do. do.
Martinsburg, Berkley county.
Do. do.
Berryville, Frederick county.
Winchester, do.
Do. do.
Do. do.
Le Plains, Fauquier county.
Middleburg, do.
Warrenton, do.
Middleburg, do.
Le Plains, do.
Charlestown, Jefferson county.
Do. do.
Do. do.
Do. do.
Mattox Bridge, Westmoreland county.
Do. do.
Do. do.
Staunton, Augusta county.
Do. do.
Do. do.
Do. do.
Barboursville, Orange county.
Wheeling, Ohio do.
Hampstead, King George do.
Do. do.
Do. do.
King George C. H. county.
Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania do.
Do. do.

} all six of Norfolk, Virginia.

OHIO.—21.

Cincinnati, Hamilton county.

Henry E. Spencer,

Daniel W. Fairbank,
 George W. Burnet,
 J. W. Piatt,
 George W. Jones, Jun.
 Isaiah Thomas,
 Adam Peters,
 Augustus Tucker,
 Edward H. Cumming,
 James S. Halsey,
 John C. Graeff,
 Albert Galloway,
 John S. Gill,
 William S. Casey,
 John M. Creed,
 J. E. Atwood,
 Peter P. Love,
 William H. Creighton,
 James Riley,
 Lemuel Weaver,
 Calvin Pease,

Cincinnati, Hamilton county,
 Do. do.
 Do. do.
 Do. do.
 Do. do.
 Zanesville, Muskingum county.
 Do. do.
 Springfield, Clark do.
 Do. do.
 T. Springs, Greene do.
 Xenia, Do. do.
 Columbus, Franklin do.
 Do. do.
 Lancaster, Fairfield do.
 Baltimore, Do. do.
 Dayton, Montgomery do.
 Chillicothe, Ross do.
 Hamilton, Burke do.
 Urbana, Champaign county.
 Warren, Trumbull county.

KENTUCKY.—8.

Philip S. White,
 John L. Blain,
 Richard Pindell,
 William Jones,
 John N. Johnson,
 Thomas J. Johnson,
 Lavy Anderson,
 William N. Bullit,

Frankfort,
 Do.
 Lexington.
 Richmond.
 Louisville.
 Do.
 Do.
 Do.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—1.

Henry C. Flagg,

Charleston.

LOUISIANA.—1.

S. Brown,

New Orleans.

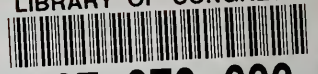
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—8.

Zaccheus Collins Lee,
 Joseph Bradley,
 Doct. Wm. B. Magruder,
 George Forrest,
 George A. Hyde,
 Thos. P. Coleman,
 Charles A. Alexander,
 Benj. S. Kinsey,

} Washington City.
 }
 } Georgetown.
 }
 }
 } Alexandria.



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